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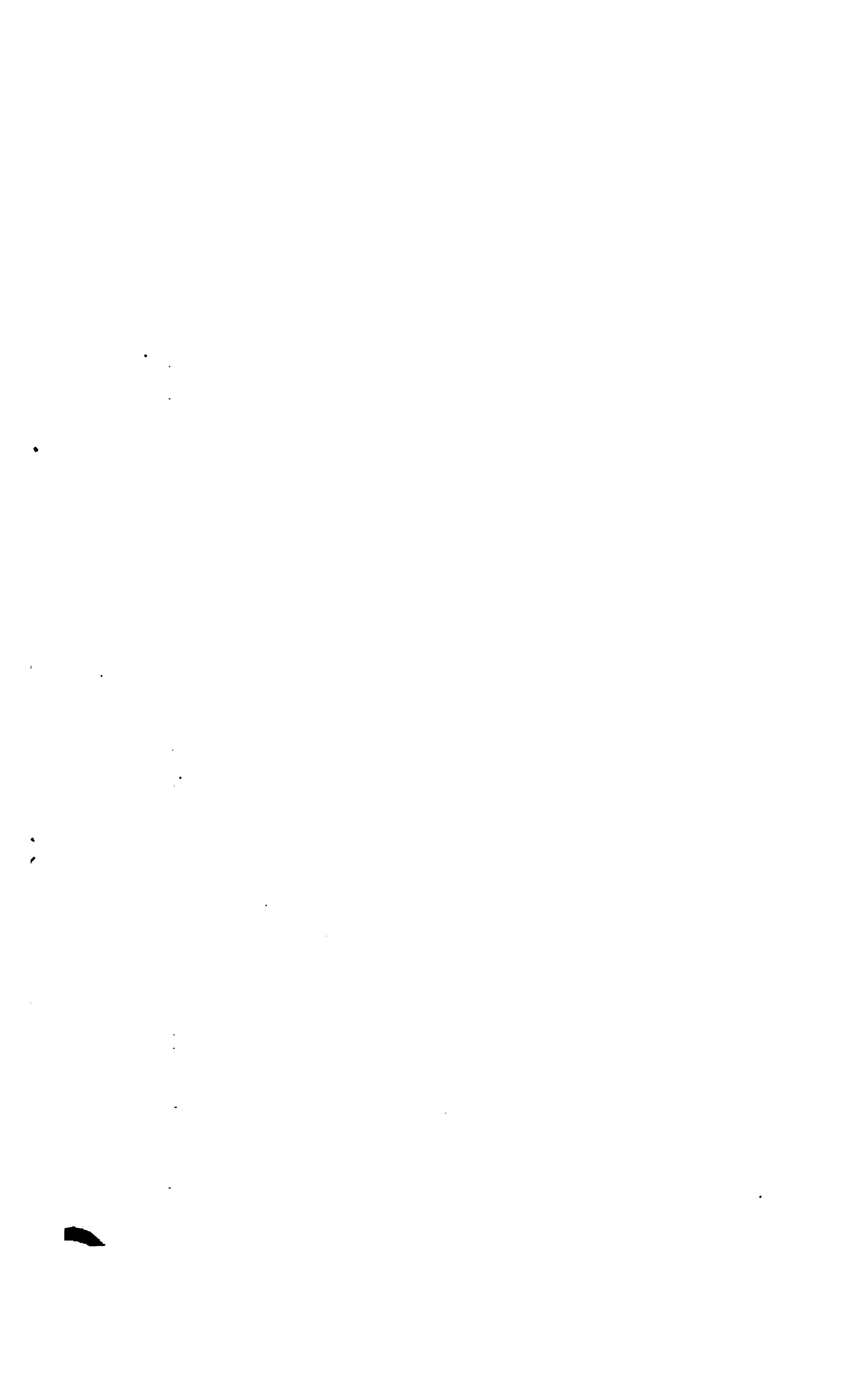


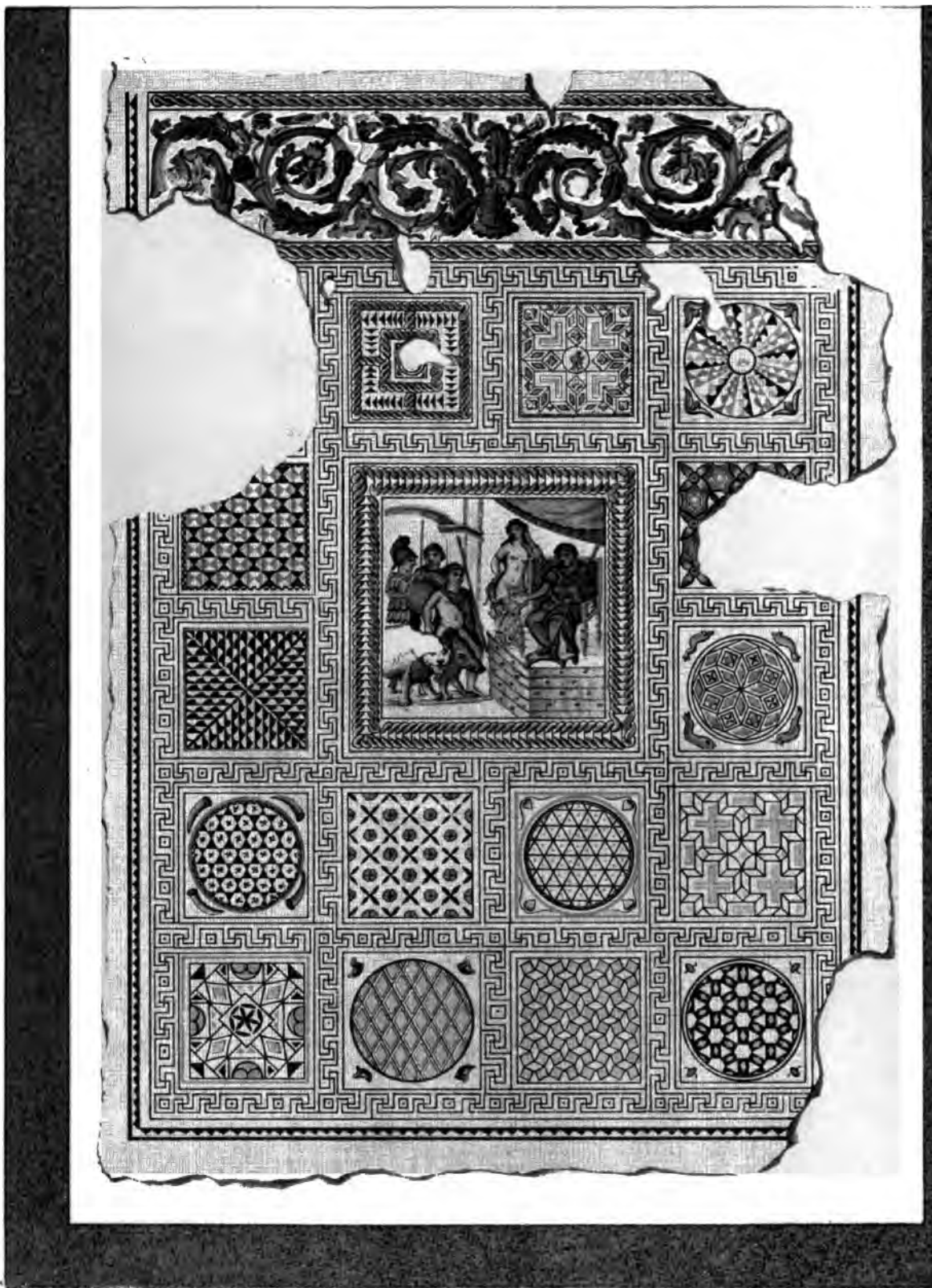
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HISTORY OF ROME

AND

THE ROMAN PEOPLE.





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MOSAIC FOUND AT NIMES REPRESENTING THE ARRIVAL OF ADMETUS

HISTORY OF ROME,

AND OF THE ROMAN PEOPLE,

FROM ITS ORIGIN TO THE INVASION OF THE
BARBARIANS.



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CHAPTER CIX.

GRATIAN (367-383); VALENTINIAN II. (375-392); THEODOSIUS (379-395).

I. — THE REIGNS OF GRATIAN AND THEODOSIUS, TO THE PEACE WITH THE GOTHs (378-380).

AFTER the battle of Hadrianople the Sarmatae and Quadi had crossed the Danube, while the conquerors of Valens, finding the pass of Succia ill-defended, invaded the Illyrian provinces, till then intact;¹ the Empire was now one aching and bleeding wound. "How many woes!" exclaims Gregory Nazianzen. "The land is covered with dead bodies, and red with blood." Saint Jerome writes a little later: "For the last twenty years, from Constantinople to the Julian Alps, the blood of the Romans has been shed daily. Moesia, Thrace, Macedonia, and Dacia, the land of the Thessalians, of the Dalmatians, and of the Dardanians, Achaia, Epirus, the two Pannonian provinces, are all full of Barbarians who pillage and kill. How many matrons and consecrated virgins, how many persons of rank, have been the victims of their brutality! How many bishops have been carried away captive, how many priests murdered and churches destroyed, and how often have they fed their horses upon our altars!"² Gaul was threatened with a similar fate; at news of the success of the

¹ . . . *Arctos provincias quas peragrare licenter adusque radices Alpium Juliarum* (Amm. Marcellinus, xxxi. 16). Saint Ambrose redeemed captives, natives of his diocese, who had been carried off by these marauders. The Fathers of the Council of Aquileia in 381, in their letter to Theodosius (Ambrose, *Letter 12*), complain that they have not been able, on account of enemies, to send deputies to the Church of Antioch. See also Saint Chrysostom, *Letter to a Young Widow*, in his complete *Works*, i. 344, edit. of Montfaucon.

² Saint Gregory Nazianzen, *Disc. xxii.*; Saint Ambrose, *De officiis ministrorum*, ii. 25. The quotation from Saint Jerome is taken from his letter to Heliodorus, entitled *Epitaphium Nepotiani*, which seems to have been written about 398 (Saint Jerome, *Works*, i. 26, edit. of Basle, 1553). It therefore indicates the condition of these provinces after the battle of Hadrianople and during part of the reign of Theodosius.

Goths, the Alemanni prepared to take in the trans-Rhenic provinces,—their share of the pillage of the Empire.¹ Britain and Africa, recently in a blaze, remained exposed to perils for a time averted by Count Theodosius; the inhabitants of the Cyrenaica lived in continual alarm; and there was reason to fear that in the East the Persians would attempt to profit by the disaster of Valens. "The Empire is falling into ruins!" wrote Saint Jerome sadly.

The momentary lassitude of the Barbarians could alone give it respite, for of itself Roman society could do nothing in its own defence. The populations no longer had the courage to protect themselves, and moreover the law had deprived them of the means of doing this, prohibiting to citizens the possession of weapons. Another evil prevailed; in consequence of invasions and of the increasing insecurity, such gaps were made in the population that the life of the community became impoverished. The Church was not in a position to restore energy to this enfeebled vitality. The clergy lived in celibacy, and urged it upon the laity. In three books Saint Ambrose unfolds the merits of virginity; and at the same time he says: "It is complained that the human race is in danger of dying out."² Moreover, Christians had already been seen escaping in numerous bands to the desert; others, who still remained in cities, avoided the conjugal life. Saint Basil, Saint Gregory, Saint John Chrysostom, and many others, were monks before they were bishops; and Saint Jerome so extols the merits of celibacy that when his *Letter to Eustochia* was read at Rome, it was thought that he absolutely condemned marriage. The Christians, while asking much from the state, gave it nothing in respect to political force. On the question of civil obligations they were in agreement with the philosophers, who also recommended separation from the world; so that the two moral powers of the age made the contemplative life the ideal of perfection: and those who in this society were best fitted for the duties of life refused to perform them.

This desertion within the community, this destruction of the military spirit, explains why the Emperors filled the army with

¹ Socrates, v. 6; Sozomenus, vii. 4. But Ausonius, then at Trèves, where he delivered his *Gratiarum actio pro Const.*, does not mention any invasion.

² *De Virgin.* ii. 7. Saint John Chrysostom wrote about this time a treatise on the same subject.

Barbarians, and sought their generals from hostile races. Among these chiefs of the imperial armies were the Goth Munderic, who commanded on the frontier of Arabia; Modares, the serviceable lieutenant of Theodosius in 379; Fravitta, whom Arcadius made a consul, pagan though he was; Saul and Bacurus, officers of less renown; Eriulf, who already looked forward to the transference of the Empire to the Goths; Gainas, who attempted to give it to them; and even Alaric, whose army was later to force those Roman walls which Hannibal had never been able to break through. In the Western Empire also how many tribunes, counts, and commanders had been furnished by the Aleman and Frankish tribes! Magnentius was of Getic race; Sylvanus, a Frank; Arbogastes, who held an Emperor in clientage, was at once king of the Franks and a Roman general. "The Barbarians," says Zosimus, "make their residence within the Empire, whose native population has now become so reduced that it is scarcely possible to recognize the sites of many once flourishing cities."¹

Gratian was not the man whom circumstances so difficult demanded. Augustus at the age of eight, emperor at sixteen, assassinated at twenty-four, he had time only to exhibit on the throne some amiable qualities and much weakness. At the beginning of his reign his religious policy was undecided: first we find severities against the heretics;² then a law of toleration;³ finally, Orthodoxy prevailed. He recalled the bishops exiled by Valens, bestowed upon the Catholics the churches of the Donatists, and prohibited sectaries from holding assemblies, under penalty of confiscation of the buildings where they were held. These variations indicate that influence over the young Emperor was alternately lost and recovered by the old counsellors of his father or by Saint Ambrose, whose docile pupil he was. Gratian was in personal correspondence with the great bishop.⁵ He asked from

GOLD MEDALLION.⁴

¹ Ἡ Ῥωμαίων ἐπικράτεια κατὰ μέρος ἐλαττωθεῖσα βαρβάρων οἰκητήριον γέγονεν . . . (iv. 59).

² Laws of 376 and 377, in the *Theodosian Code*, xvi. 5, 4, and xvi. 6, 2. Cf. Godefroy, vi. 128.

³ Socrates, v. 2.

⁴ The Emperor Gratian, with the diadem. DN. GRATIANVS P. F. AVG.

⁵ See, at the beginning of the Benedictine collection of the *Letters* of Saint Ambrose, a letter from Gratian to the Archbishop of Milan.

Saint Ambrose advice as to his conduct, and treatises on theology for his faith; and to be better instructed, the Emperor often resided at Milan.¹ This Orthodox ardor augured ill for the pagans. If he did not molest them as to their persons or property, he persecuted their cult, — confiscating the patrimony of the gods by giving to the state the lands and the revenues which the piety of thirty generations had devoted to the service of the temples;² taking away the privileges which the vestals and pontiffs had enjoyed for centuries; removing from the senate-house the altar of Victory; and, to take from the old Roman religion its last hope of protection, refusing to accept the sacerdotal robe which it was the custom for the college of pontiffs to offer to the Emperor on his accession.³ Gratian was the first ruler after the Church's heart.

But it was a time when the affairs of state were very urgent; Gratian formed the wise design of giving himself a colleague, and he made a good choice. After the death of Valentinian, a reaction had taken place, as was usual, against the servants of the late reign. Gratian's mother, Severa Valeria, returning to her son, avenged herself upon the ministers of her former husband. The public mind was at this time too much habituated to palace revolutions to be excited by this; but one of the executions which took place shocked men, because it inaugurated the reign of the young Emperor by a crime which deprived the state of its best general. Count Theodosius, pursued by the hatred of those whose exactions he had repressed in Africa, and accused, doubtless, of aspiring to the Empire, was beheaded at Carthage (376).⁴ His son, involved in the same disgrace, or unwilling to serve his father's murderers, withdrew into his native city of Cauca, in Galicia. Thither the messengers of Gratian went to seek him. He was not yet thirty-three years of age, but his campaigns against the Picts and a recent victory over the Sarmatae had established his reputation. The confidence of the Emperor, perhaps also his remorse, decided the

¹ Justina and Valentinian II. spent many years at Sirnium.

² *Codex Theod.* xvi. 10, 20. It was forbidden to make legacies to the pagan clergy (Symmachus, *Letters*, x. 54), — a prohibition which existed already in the case of the Christian clergy. But by both parties the law was evaded; Saint Jerome himself affirms this (*Opera*, iv. 261).

³ Zosimus, iv. 36.

⁴ . . . *Instimulante et obrepente invidia* (Orosius, vii. 33). Under the reign of his son the Senate decreed the count an equestrian statue (Symmachus, i. 22, 57).

fortune of the young general. Gratian gave him the purple, and the prefectures which had belonged to Valens (Jan. 19, 379).

The invasion of rich provinces had been fatal to the invaders; excesses had brought on fatal epidemics, and the Goths left many dead along the roads. The enthusiasm of the early days had abated; united for war, they fell apart after victories, and fatigued with vain attacks on walled cities, they had resumed their road northward, carrying their spoils with them. They halted between the Balkans and the Danube, as in a region where they were quite at home (*genitales terras*);¹ then, to live at their ease, they scattered widely, each upon his chosen ground,² and the formidable mass lost its strength in losing its cohesion. Isolated bands continued to ravage Thrace and Macedon. However, Theodosius was able to go from Sirmium, where he had received the purple, to Thessalonica without risking dangerous encounters. This great seaport was well chosen for the reception of provisions and reinforcements. But the Eastern army had been almost annihilated at Hadrianople; Theodosius with great difficulty gathered a few troops, to whom he essayed to restore the military spirit by subjecting them to the discipline of earlier days, — a dangerous severity, had he not mitigated it by his affable manners and modest life, and by giving the example himself of the virtues he required from others.³ Many skirmishes and surprises, — of which the most important one was led by Modares, a Gothic chief now in the service of the Empire,⁴ — and still more the desire of the Barbarians to make their booty secure, delivered Thrace from the separate bands which had lingered there. On the 6th of July, 379, the Emperor was at Scupi, where he re-established communications with the Empire of the West through the valley of the Save.⁵

During these operations in Thrace the Roman commander in Asia had given orders to his lieutenants, by secret messages, that the Goths scattered through the provinces were, on a given day,

¹ Aur. Victor, 47. Jordanes says also (chap. 26): *Tanquam soli genitales potiti*.

² . . . *Digressi sunt effusorie* (Amm. Marcellinus, xxxi. 16).

³ *εὐπρόσμετος* (Zosimus, iv. 27: . . . *Accessu facilis et absque imperiali fastu ad colloquium se humilibus praeberere* (Rufinus, ii. 19). Jordanes (27) and Aur. Victor (48) say the same. In Pacatus (10) we read: *Dux consilio, miles exemplo*. The reproaches addressed him by Zosimus do not appear well founded.

⁴ Themistius, *Disc.* xiv. 181, edit. Hardouin; Zosimus, iv. 25.

⁵ Scupi, between the Schar-Dagh and the Kurbetzkegebirge.

under pretext of a distribution of money, to be called together into certain cities and murdered. This massacre appeared to contemporaries to be required by the interests of public safety. Among the victims there were hostages who had been given up in pledge of peace, and whose execution had been called for by the treachery of their fellow-countrymen. Ancient usages authorized this cruelty. It is said that it was proposed by the Roman general, and ordered by the senate of Constantinople, in the absence of Theodosius.¹ It may be doubted whether the feeble assembly gave this order, and



TRIUMPHAL ARCH AT THESSALONICA (RESTORED).²

Thessalonica was not so far that the Emperor could not have been consulted. Acts of extreme rigor were not displeasing to him; proof of this will be found in his laws and in his conduct.

Early in the following year (380) a serious illness seized him at Thessalonica. He was a Christian, and of the Nicene faith, like all the Western Church. The threatened approach of death determined him to seek for baptism, which at that time many catechumens delayed till the last hour, that they might appear before the Supreme Judge clean from its purifying waters. Ambrose had not received this rite until after his election to the bishopric of Milan; and Synesius, like Ambrose noble and rich, was scarcely a Christian when

¹ Zosimus, iv. 26.

² There are two arches at Thessalonica: one, called the Gate of the Vardar (Vol. III. p. 690), was built in honor of Octavius and Antony after the battle of Philippi; the other, on which camels are represented, was perhaps erected in commemoration of the victory of Constantine over Licinius. Pococke gives a restoration of it in his *Description of the East*, vol. ii. part 2, p. 150. The arch, which is of brick, appears to have been covered with marble. It is forty feet high from the present level, and was probably sixty feet above the ancient.

the people of Cyrene forced him to become their bishop. Theodosius celebrated his entrance into the Orthodox Church by an edict of persecution; the constitution of the 27th of February, 380, condemned the Arian doctrine, and put the Eastern heretics in the same position in which Gratian had placed those of the West. "It is our will," he says, "that all people ruled by our clemency should profess the doctrine brought to the Romans by the Apostle Peter, and now taught by the pontiff Damasus of Rome, and Peter, bishop of Alexandria. Those who follow this rule will alone be called Catholic Christians. Fools and madmen (*dementes vesanique*) who choose to defend the infamy of heretical dogmas will no longer call their assemblies churches, and, while awaiting the judgment of God, will fall under our punishment."¹ A law of the same year defined this threat: "Whoever by ignorance or negligence offends against the divine law, commits sacrilege;"² and the penalty of sacrilege was death at the stake, in the arena, or on the cross.⁴ We grieve at this intolerance; but it cannot surprise us, for the world has rarely seen governments wise enough not to assume to regulate the religious or political conscience of the governed.

SILVER MEDALLION.³

As far as it is possible to bring out fact from a chaos of confused statements, it appears that a new invasion took place in this year (380). Some authors speak of Roman victories, others of Roman defeats; and doubtless there is truth on both sides. It is probable that the mass of the Gothic nation remained inactive. But great migrations were still going on in Germany. The Lombards, coming down from the North, had driven the Vandals in the West as far as the Gallic frontier. Some tribes, impelled southwards, crossed the Danube, bringing with them isolated bands of Goths; and Thrace, Macedon, Thessaly, and Epirus were again

¹ *Codex Theod.* xvi. 1, 2: *Cunctos populos . . . in tali volumus religione versari. . . .* In the same year, 380, are dated nine laws against the extortions and thefts of judges and the powerful. Cf. Godefroy in the *Codex Theod.* i. 108. The evil to which we have so often referred, therefore, was not diminished.

² The Emperor Theodosius wearing the diadem.

³ *Codex Theod.* xvi. 2, 25.

⁴ Ulpian in the *Digest*, xlviii. 13, 6.

ravaged by Fritigern with his Visigoths, and Pannonia by Aletheus and Saphrax with the Ostrogoths. The Roman troops encountered these marauders, sometimes successfully, sometimes with loss; on one occasion Theodosius himself only escaped capture by a rapid flight. This reverse and a new attack of illness decided him to claim assistance from Gratian. But the West was threatened with invasion also, the Vandals proposing to seek in Gaul the good fortune which the Goths had found in Thrace. Gratian rid himself of them only by the cession of upper Pannonia; and this sacrifice enabled him to



GOLD
MEDALLION.¹

send to his colleague some troops commanded by Frankish chiefs, Arbogastes and Bauto, two brave soldiers, of whom the latter was father of the Empress Eudoxia. Barbarians being thus matched against each other, the victory belonged to the better disciplined; Thrace and Macedon were again delivered from the Goths. Gratian completed the work by negotiation. The Goths, whose destructive instinct was re-awakened by these pillaging expeditions, were again astonished at their own success. Together with the Thracian spoils, they had carried away, on their retreat, a very high respect for the Empire whose army they had defeated. They contrasted their hovels, their undefended villages, and their muddy bridle-paths, with these cities strongly walled and built upon a drained soil, with these bridges spanning the rivers, with these indestructible roads that furrowed the plains or traversed the mountains; and they felt for this civilization, which they were now able to comprehend, while they could not yet imitate it, the ingenuous admiration expressed some months later by a successor of Fritigern. Athanaric, being called to Constantinople by Theodosius, exclaimed, as he traversed the imperial city: "I see now what I had not before believed, — the splendor of this great city. The Emperor is truly a god upon earth; whoever dares oppose him will perish."² This first impression was destined to be lasting; the Gothic leaders always retained their respect for the Empire, and while devastating its provinces, still designed to keep it

¹ Reverse of a medallion commemorating the victories of Gratian. GLORIA NOVI SAECVLI. The Emperor, standing, holding the *labarum* and a globe, each of which is surmounted by a Victory; the two holding a palm-branch over the Emperor's head.

² Jordanes, 28.

in existence,—at least so long as it was for their own advantage. Atwaulf in Gaul and Theodoric in Italy expressed themselves as Athanaric had done. The conquerors at Hadrianople were therefore disposed to return to the conditions which had been stipulated with Valens,—to obtain lands within the limits of the Empire, and to fight for it. Gratian thought that the loss of some ravaged territory would not be a disaster, and that the Goths would defend the Danube better than could the few and feeble garrisons which it was possible to establish in those deserted regions.¹ He bought over the chiefs with presents and pensions, and the people by promising them food,—doubtless at the approaching harvest; and he abandoned to them, free from all taxes, the fertile lands which slope downward from the Balkans to the great river.² Theodosius, kept informed of these negotiations, which also concerned his provinces, hastened to ratify the agreement, receiving, in return, so large a number of recruits that henceforward his army appeared to be entirely composed of Barbarians.³ “The *foederati* of Constantine were re-established,” says Jordanes, “in equal number and under the same name.” This was a danger; Theodosius attempted to lessen it by sending a large number of these dangerous recruits into the provinces, and withdrawing thence the old Roman troops. Thus Hormisdas, the son of the Persian king, led a Gothic corps into Egypt to take the place of the legion of Alexandria,—a change without risk to the Empire, but not without disaster to the inhabitants. On the way to Egypt this corps committed countless acts of violence. In a city of Lydia the citizens made resistance, and two hundred of the Goths were killed.⁴ We know neither the loss of the townsfolk in this collision, nor how many times similar scenes occurred; but it is certain that this method of recruiting the Roman army made the government in the end cruelly expiate its folly, and the populations their cowardly abandonment of the military service.

Rulers and people at the time congratulated themselves on

¹ Zosimus (iv. 34) says that all the Goths who came to Constantinople with Athanaric went to guard the Danube : *τη τῆς ὄχθης φυλακῇ προσεγκατερέψαντας ἐπὶ πολὺ κωλύσαι τὰς κατὰ Ῥωμαίων ἐφόδους.*

² Jordanes, 27; Prosper, *Chron.*, anno 380 : . . . *Procurante Gratiano, et quod Theodosius aegrotaret pax firmata cum Gothis.*

³ . . . οὐδὲ Ῥωμαίου διάκρισις ἡ βαρβάρου (Zosimus, iv. 30).

⁴ Zosimus, iv. 30.

this policy, whose disastrous consequences they did not foresee. Proud of their ancient renown, their vanity at present was easily satisfied. These Barbarians, who were to be their masters, now appeared to them the subjects of the Empire (*Romano serviebant imperio*). Accordingly when, after the peace which sanctioned this first dismemberment of the Empire, Theodosius returned, Nov. 14, 380, to Constantinople, he entered the city in triumph.¹ The arrival, six weeks later, of a Gothic magistrate, was the occasion of new rejoicings. Athanaric seems to have been recalled by his people after the death of Fritigern, and it was doubtless to confirm the recent treaty that he went to Constantinople.² The Emperor received him with great honors; he went out to meet the Goth, loaded him with presents, and on the death of the old chief, which occurred a few days later (January, 381), Theodosius gave him royal obsequies, the fame of which spread wide among the Barbarians. This policy on the Emperor's part attracted other chiefs, eager to exchange a rude and restless life among their turbulent fellow-countrymen for the profits, the tranquil honors, and the pleasures of a life at Constantinople.

The agreement which had been made with the nation as a body did not hinder predatory bands from scouring the country for nearly two years longer.³ The Roman general Saturninus succeeded in negotiating with these marauders a treaty on the same conditions, and on the 3d of October, 382, put an end to the great Gothic war. "A disastrous peace," says Idacius (*infida pace*). The Empire in fact lost many provinces by it, and the Barbarians, who preserved their national chiefs and their customs, yielded obedience, on the territory which had been ceded to them, neither to the laws nor to the magistrates of Rome; they were her allies, but by no means her subjects.⁴ They had promised to aid the Emperor in all his wars, and they

¹ Zosimus, iv. 33; Philostorgius, ix. 10: *Marcellini comitis Chronicon*, anno 380.

² Jordanes says that he succeeded Fritigern as chief of the Visigoths. The latter, who had been his rival and his enemy, disappears from history at this point, and the honors paid Athanaric by the Emperor confirm the assertion of Jordanes.

³ Zosimus (iv. 34) speaks of Scyrae, Carpodacae, and Huns, who in this year (381) were driven across the Danube.

⁴ Themistius, *Disc.* xvi. 210; Claudian, *In Eutropium*, ii., verses 153 and 194. Cf. Wietersheim, ii. 68. It is needless to say that this German author approves the policy which opened the Empire to the Germans, and reproaches a contemporary, Synesius, for blaming it. All that can be said in favor of Gratian and Theodosius is that they were the heirs of an unfortunate policy, whose dangers have been repeatedly pointed out in this work.

furnished him volunteers, who received special pay. The Barbarians were to be recognized by their gold collars and bracelets, and especially by their turbulence; for these protectors of the Empire were not far from believing themselves in conquered countries, and had no other feeling than contempt for the timid crowd about them. We have seen what disturbances were caused by those whom Theodosius sent into Egypt; others attempted to pillage the city of Tomi, where Count Gerontius, a brave general, was in command. When he proposed to drive away these bandits, the alarmed soldiers refused to follow him; and to induce them to do so, he was obliged to throw himself alone among the enemy. He succeeded in delivering this corner of Thrace; but instead of receiving a reward, he found himself in danger of his life, and escaped the threatened sentence only by abandoning all his property to the eunuchs of the palace.² On one occasion, at Constantinople, the Goths showed so much insolence that the indignant populace killed one of them. Theodosius, to appease the anger of the comrades of the murdered soldier, punished the whole city by reducing by one half its daily distributions.³ A few years later, to avenge the death of a Gothic officer killed in Thessalonica, he ordered the massacre of all the citizens. At the imperial table violent words were often interchanged; sometimes swords were drawn, and blood flowed.⁴ In the civil wars the Barbarians did good service, because expeditions through the provinces promised booty; but more than once Theodosius was obliged to observe how little confidence could be placed in these men, who, while admiring the great civilized state, still felt themselves strangers in the Empire, and believed themselves to have the rights of the stronger to all its wealth. When Theodosius marched against Maximus, many *foederati* deserted, to pillage Macedon and Thessaly; and during his residence in Italy, or after his return to Constantinople (Nov. 10, 391), others killed one of his best generals, Promotus. The Vandal Stilicho, a friend of this officer, attempted to avenge

BRONZE COIN.¹

¹ Reverse of a coin of Tomi. TOMEITON. Hercules standing, the lion's skin on his head, leaning on his club.

² Zosimus, iv. 40.

³ Libanius, *Disc.* xii. 394 (edit. Morel).

⁴ Zosimus, iv. 56; Eunapius, p. 53 (edit. of Bonn).

his death. He pursued the band, and succeeded in shutting them up in a narrow gorge, where he could have hewn them in pieces, had not Theodosius preferred to treat with them.¹ The Emperor was indeed, as Jordanes calls him, the great friend of the Goths,² — a friendship fatal to the Empire, but imposed upon it by circumstances. It was the defective military organization of the Roman state in the fourth century, and not the mere preference of Theodosius, which gave the Goths their formidable advantage. In speaking of all these Barbarians, Synesius exclaims: "The stone of Sisyphus threatens us perpetually."³

II. — GRATIAN AND THEODOSIUS, FROM THE PEACE WITH THE GOTHs TO THE DEATH OF GRATIAN (380–383).

FOR more than forty years Constantinople had been the citadel of Arianism. Demophilus, the bishop of the city, ruled its churches, and the Orthodox Gregory Nazianzen had nothing but an oratory where his adherents met; the place was called *Anastasia*, the "Resurrection," because the Nicene faith was there revived.⁴ Already in Thessalonica, Theodosius had declared war upon heresy. He called upon Demophilus to accept the creed of Nicaea, and on the latter's refusal, deposed him; then, surrounded by his guards, with great military display, the Emperor himself conducted Gregory to the cathedral, and placed in his charge all the churches of the city, with their revenues.⁵ The population was terror-stricken,

¹ Claudian, *De Stilich*.

² *Amator generis Gothorum* (29). Zosimus, iv. 48.

³ Valentinian and Valens had renewed, in 364, the express prohibition to the inhabitants of the Empire of having weapons in their houses (*Codex Theod.* xv. 15). In his *Discourse on Royalty*, sect. 21–24, Synesius shows the provincials exempted from military service, and the defence of the Empire given over to its natural enemies; and he calls for the reconstruction of a national army. This oration, pronounced in the Senate in presence of Arcadius, five years after the death of Theodosius, proves that the picture drawn in this work is not too dark in its representation of the Empire already delivered over to the Barbarians.

⁴ Later this oratory was transformed into a splendid church, which retained the name *Anastasia* (Ducange, *Const. Christian.* iv. 141).

⁵ Gregory was consecrated bishop of Constantinople some years later by Meletius, patriarch of Antioch, in contravention of the Nicene canon prohibiting the transference

but no resistance was offered; Constantinople became Orthodox, as it had become Arian, by order of its Emperor. "Now," says Symmachus sadly, "to remain away from the altars is the means of gaining the imperial favor."¹ Demophilus had more dignity. When he received the Emperor's order he called his clergy together and said to them: "It is written in the Gospel: 'When they persecute you in one city, flee unto the next.' The Emperor drives us out from here; to-morrow we will pray elsewhere."² But the Emperor's wrath followed them wherever they went. This Spaniard, whose zeal is, so to speak, a foretaste of all the religious intolerance that has since characterized his native land, extended through all the Eastern Empire the work begun at Constantinople. There remain sixteen constitutions against heretics issued in his reign. That of Jan. 10, 381, makes the Nicene Creed a law of the land; it gives back to the Orthodox all churches and consecrated places, and prohibits heretics from assembling in the cities. Theodosius speaks here with hatred and contempt of "the Arian poison, the Photinian leprosy, the Emonian perfidy." "Let no heretic," he says, "have place for his religious rites, and let none find opportunity to act according to his obstinate folly." Words like these would naturally inspire terror and lead to numerous conversions. Fortunately the law had no other penalty than expulsion from the city in case the ordinance were disobeyed, and notwithstanding these noisy and violent threats it left the Arians at liberty to assemble in the suburbs and in the country.³

There was at this time a military commander, Sapor, whose name indicates his nationality, and shows the strange medley of this imperial staff formed of Barbarians and foreigners. Theodosius, who had intrusted Hormisdas with the difficult task of leading the Goths into Egypt, employed Sapor to execute this edict. The latter did so without encountering resistance.⁴ These servile populations, perhaps wearied at last with theological dis-

of a bishop from one see to another,—a canon often disobeyed. The opposite party employed it, however, in exciting against him so violent an opposition that he resigned his bishopric.

¹ *Nunc aris deesse Romanos genus est ambiendi* (*Letters*, i. 45).

² Socrates, v. 7.

³ *Codex Theod.* xvi. 5, 6.

⁴ Theodoret, v. 2.

cussions which they did not understand, abandoned to the Emperor their religious belief, as they had their political interests; and the Arian clergy, habituated to imperial favor, accepted their downfall when they saw this favor removed from them.¹ Only at Antioch Sapor encountered difficulties. The city had at this time three bishops,² to say nothing of its pagan pontiffs. Sapor designated the one who alone should keep this title, and the turbulent city accepted the spiritual ruler assigned it by the Persian. However, the more ardent Arians continued to meet in the suburbs,³ while others concealed their faith until a favorable moment. On one occasion a rumor spreading through Constantinople that Theodosius had been killed in some expedition, the Arians of that city set fire to the house of the Catholic bishop.⁴

To consecrate the religious transformation of his Empire, and complete the Nicene Creed by the condemnation of the Macedonians who denied the divinity of the Holy Spirit, Theodosius convoked in May, 381, at Constantinople, a council which is considered œcumenical, although it consisted only of bishops from the Eastern Empire. Many of these bishops had often varied as to their creed, but they submitted to the doctrine which the Emperor wished to have victorious. In the preceding volume of this work (p. 545, note 2) are given the additions made by the Fathers of Constantinople to the *Credo* of 325; they also modified the Sixth Canon, which had recognized vaguely a rank above that of the metropolitan bishops, — that, namely, of the patriarchs of Rome, Alexandria, and Antioch, the three bishoprics said to have been founded by the apostles. They made of the see of Constantinople a fourth patriarchate, to which was assigned the second rank, Rome holding the first.⁵ “These decrees,” says

¹ Sozomenus, vii. 12.

² Socrates, v. 3.

³ Socrates, v. 15.

⁴ *Id.* v. 13, anno 388.

⁵ The Council of Chalcedon (451) recognized in the see of Constantinople “the same advantages as those belonging to the Church of Rome,” — a decision containing the germ of the Eastern schism. This council made a fifth patriarchate, that of Jerusalem. But many provinces refusing to enter into this organization, it became necessary to give the title of exarchs to the metropolitans of Heracleia in Thrace, of Ephesus, and of Neo-Cæsarea, hitherto independent of the see of Constantinople. Notwithstanding the conciliary decisions in relation to the hierarchy, many bishops acknowledged only their metropolitan. Synesius of Ptolemais, so full of deference towards the patriarch of Alexandria, seems to ignore the existence of the Pope; in his hundred and fifty-seven

Socrates, "were confirmed by the approbation and assent of the Emperor."¹

All things were not conducted with Christian moderation in this council. There broke out grievous disputes, and two acts of injustice were committed,—one, the requiring Gregory Nazianzen to withdraw from the see of Constantinople; the other, the promotion of Flavianus to that of Antioch. Gregory yielded obedience, but he took his revenge. In the history of his life he speaks very disrespectfully of the council,—where he heard the screams of jays and felt the sting of wasps. "I had scarcely spoken," he says, "when clamors arose on every side. It was like a flock of jays, or a tempest raising whirlwinds of dust; it was a battle of the winds. They chattered foolishly, and buzzed like a swarm of wasps that attack the face."² The successor of Gregory was an old man, Nectarius, an ex-prætor, who had not as yet been baptized.³

While the Fathers of the Council of Constantinople were completing the formula of the Catholic dogma, regardless of the absence of the Western bishops,⁴ Theodosius continued his war against those opposing. Two laws withdrew from apostate Christians, from Manichæans, and from other sectaries, a right which was an

Letters there is not a word of allusion to the Holy See or the Western Empire. The Fathers of Constantinople were a hundred and fifty in number. The Pope and the Western bishops took no part in this council; but, according to usage, its decrees were communicated to them, in order that, being accepted by them, the decrees might be received as authority by the whole Church.

¹ *Hist. eccl.* v. 8.

² ἄτακτα παφλάζουσιν ἡ σφηκῶν δίκη, verses 1681-87 (edit. Caillau). "Gregory," say the Benedictines (in the *Art de vérifier les dates*, ii. 283), "represents the Fathers of this council as coarse and ignorant, as proud and ambitious, as mercenary, seeking only to amass wealth by whatever means, as hypocrites who under an outward show of virtues conceal great profligacy. . . . 'They are,' he says, 'petulant, lovers of display, devoted to the pleasures of the table, ready to perjure themselves when interest demands it, low and fierce natures who grovel before the great, and are as lions towards those beneath them.'"

³ In respect to this singular election, see Sozomenus, vii. 8-10. In his *Letters*, Gregory frequently repeats that it is his intention to avoid every assembly of bishops, because he has never seen a council that ended well (De Broglie, *op. laud.* v. 88).

⁴ Ξένον γὰρ ἐστίν, ὡς ὁρῶ, νῦν ἡ δύσις (Gregory Nazianzen, ii. 26). Saint Basil was of the same mind. He recognized no special right in the Bishop of Rome; the supreme authority of the Church is vested in the councils. Accordingly, when he claims the assistance of the West against the Arians of the Eastern Empire, he addresses himself to the bishops of Italy and of Gaul (*Letters* 70, 90, and 92). In his judgment the Pope, "the Coryphaeus of the Western Churches," is a haughty and arrogant prelate, who mistakes pride for dignity, and places himself so high that the truth cannot reach him (*Letters* 215, 239). He reproaches the bishops of Rome with leaning towards the Sabellians, who see in the Trinity merely three designations of one hypostasis.

essential privilege of the Roman citizen; namely, that of making a will and of receiving legacies and donations. The property whose transmission was thus arrested fell to the public treasury, unless the children of the father incurring such penalty should return within the pale of the Catholic Church.

Saint Paul had said of an offender against the moral law: "Deliver such an one unto Satan for the destruction of the flesh, that the spirit may be saved in the day of the Lord Jesus."¹ By Satan, Saint Paul doubtless meant the evil world into the midst of which the sinner is thrown back. But the apostle's language is susceptible of another interpretation; with Theodosius, Satan now began his rôle of public executioner. The constitution of March 31, 382, decreed against the Manichaeans and the sectaries akin to them the highest punishment of the law; informers were invited to testify, and for their encouragement the responsibility incurred when the accusation failed of proof was taken off; lastly, this law applied the same penalties to those who should refuse to celebrate Easter on the day fixed by the Orthodox Church. For the first time appeared, in a law against heretics, a word destined to a sad notoriety, the word *inquisitor*, and it is Theodosius who employs it.² The preceding year Gratian had called together at Aquileia a synod which condemned two Illyrian bishops accused of Arianism. Thus a mighty effort was made by the two Emperors to bring back to one faith the Churches of the East and West; and a very important thing, the doctrinal unity of Christendom, was brought about without any effort being made either at Aquileia or Constantinople by the Bishop of Rome, the person chiefly interested in the victory.³

¹ 1 Corinth. v. 5.

² *Sublimitas tua*, he writes to the praetorian prefect, *det inquisitores, aperiat forum, indices denuntiatoresque sine invidia delationis accipiat* (*Codex Theod.* xvi. 5, 9, and Godefroy's Commentary). The Emperor repeats in 388 these threatening instructions, and organizes a complete system of espionage; . . . *In specula, Sublimitas tua, fidissimos quosque constituat qui et cohibere hos possint et deprehensos offerre judiciis, severissimum . . . supplicium daturos* (*Codex Theod.* xvi. 5, 14-15). The words *inquisitio* and *inquisitor* were old juridic expressions. The *inquisitor* was he who examined a case.

³ In respect to the numerous differences which still existed among the Churches, see a curious chapter of Socrates, *Hist. eccl.* v. 22. The thirty-three bishops, almost all Italians, of the Synod of Aquileia, in a letter to the Emperor besought him to put an end to the rivalry of Damasus and Ursinus at Rome, "so that peace should be restored to that Church, head of the world, whence are sent out to all men worthy admonitions" (September, 381,

In January, 385, Theodosius celebrated the fifth year of his imperial power, and at this time he gave the title of Augustus to his son Arcadius, although the boy was scarcely six years of age. The Emperor gained no advantage by this act; and while the people of Constantinople were celebrating the accession of one Emperor, another died in Gaul.



SCENE OF THE CHASE: STAG ATTACKED BY A DOG.¹

Gratian was very orthodox, but he lacked the qualities of a ruler. Julian was of the same age when he was appointed Caesar, and in a few months had won all hearts; Gratian never had the affection of his subjects, or lost it early. Eight years of empire had taught him nothing as to the government of men. He loved only the chase; he kept himself surrounded by skilful archers; he dressed as they did, and lived with them. His guard, who enjoyed Saint Ambrose, *Epist.* 11). The Eastern Churches did concern themselves with the interests of the Church of Rome. When, in 382, the Western Churches proposed holding an œcumenical council at Rome to decide a matter in dispute between Antioch and Alexandria, the Eastern Churches replied sharply to this proposition. Theodosius himself blamed them gently for interfering in affairs which did not concern them (Theodoret, v. 8-9).

¹ Pio-Clementino Museum, Hall of Animals, No. 173.

all his bounties, were Barbarians, and a keen discontent at this



PHALERA ²

sprang up among the Roman soldiers.¹ In the palace the courtiers were his masters; they sold everything, — places and justice alike, — and they no doubt retained in the administration the severity of Valentinian as to the payment of the taxes; hence the unpopularity of Gratian was no less in the cities than in the camps. A few swords only were drawn in his defence when the

soldiers in Britain proclaimed Maximus emperor.³ Prosper of Aquitaine speaks of a battle near Paris; Zosimus reduces this to mere skirmishes, and we know that Gratian's troops deserted him, that he made his escape with three hundred horsemen, and that all the cities closed their gates against him. Overtaken near Lyons by Andragathos, commander of the cavalry of Maximus, he was killed, Aug. 25, 385.⁵ There were few executions, — nor were they



AUREUS.⁴

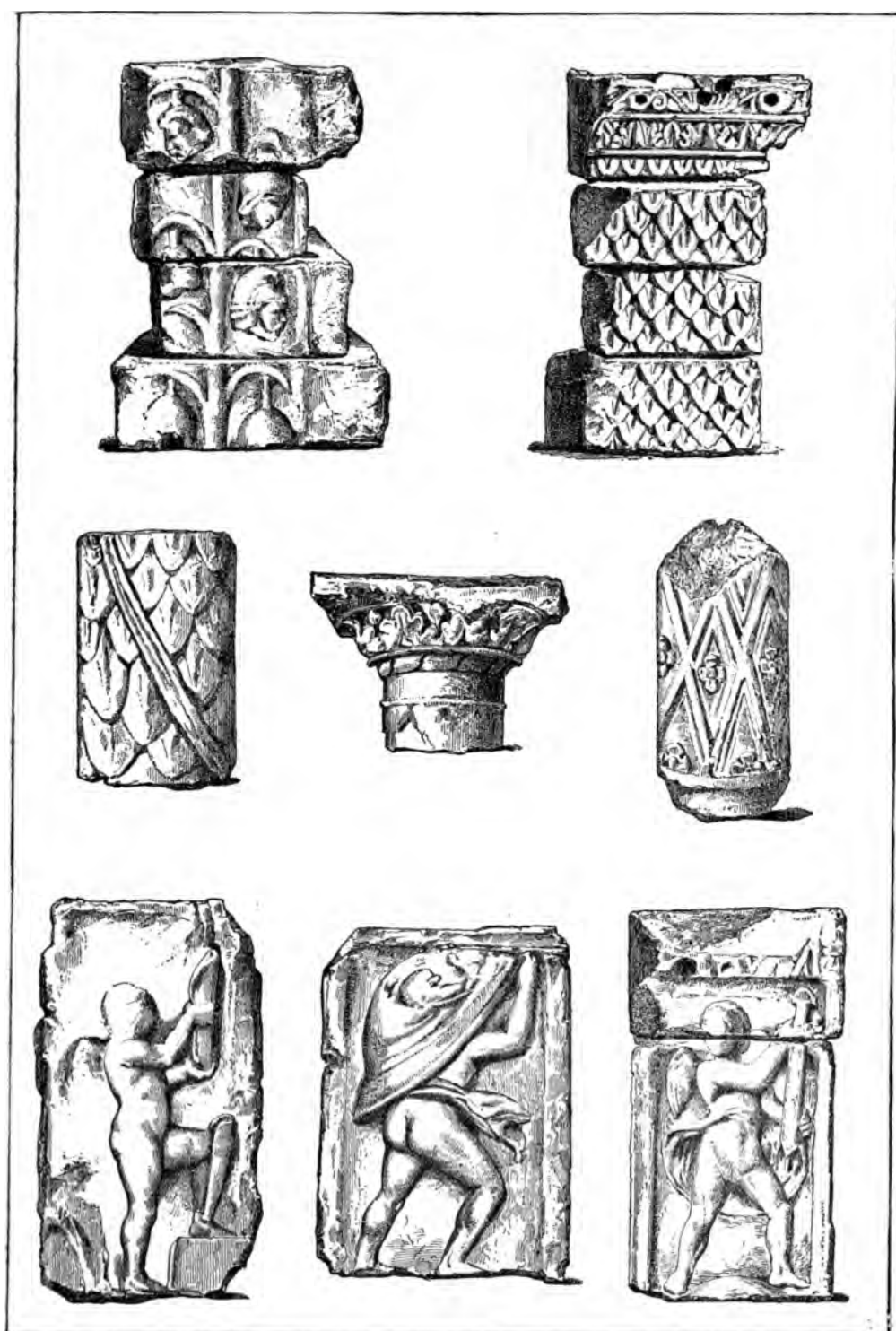
¹ . . . *Dum exercitum negligeret, et paucos ex Alanis quos ingenti auro ad se transtulerat, anteferebat veteri ac Romano militi* (*Epitome*, 47).

² Phalera of bronze plated with gold, found at Auvers (Seine et Oise). The *phaleræ* are either military decorations, or else breast-ornaments for horses. (See Monaco, *Les Monuments du Musée National de Naples*, p. 124, *c*). The *phalera* of Auvers has been the subject of learned dissertations, summed up by M. Robert de Lasteyrie in the *Revue archéol.* (1883), p. 340, and plate liii. (*Cabinet de France*).

³ It is not known what post Maximus occupied in Britain; neither Pacatus (*Pan. vet.* xii. 23) nor Zosimus (iv. 35) mentions it. Prosper Tiro calls him *vir strenuus et probus atque augusto dignus, nisi contra sacramenta fidem per tyrannidem emerisset*. Orosius and Sulpicius Severus confirm this.

⁴ GEN. LVG. COS. II. The Genius of Lyons, holding a spear and cornucopia. Reverse of an aureus of Albinus, recently acquired by the *Cabinet de France*.

⁵ Zosimus, iv. 35. As to Gratian's death, accounts differ; Saint Ambrose (in *Psalm LXI.*) represents him as killed at a banquet.



REMAINS OF A TRIUMPHAL MONUMENT.



necessary ; for the people and the legions willingly accepted the new Emperor.¹ His wife, the young Empress Constantia, had died before him ; her tomb is still to be seen.

¹ The consul of the year, the Frank Merobaud, was killed at Lyons, with Macedonius, the *magister officiorum*. One of Gratian's generals, Count Vallio, also a German, and called by Pacatus (28) *triumphalis*, died by his own hand.

² Vatican, Hall of the Sarcophagi, No. 366. Monument consisting of a single block of red porphyry, obtained from the church of Santa Constantia fuori le Mura, where this Empress was buried. (See page 250, note 2.) The bas-reliefs, heavy and ungraceful, represent Genii gathering grapes, bearing baskets of fruit, treading grapes in a vat, or filling urns with the wine. Below are peacocks, symbols of immortality.

NOTE.—On the preceding page are represented fragments of a triumphal monument found recently in excavations under the Hôtel-Dieu at Paris, perhaps erected after the battle of the year 385 (?). Musée Carnavalet.



SARCOPHAGUS OF CONSTANTIA.²

III. — THEODOSIUS, VALENTINIAN II., AND MAXIMUS (383–387).

MAXIMUS associated with himself his son Victor, to whom he gave the name Flavius, — consecrated by the Constantinian dynasty. He would willingly have pushed his victory beyond the Alps; but it was necessary for him to strengthen his authority and reorganize his provinces. He sent one of his officers



COIN OF FLAVIUS VICTOR.¹

to Valentinian II., that boy of twelve, till now left unnoticed at Sirmium, whom his mother, at report of what had taken place in Gaul, had brought to Milan. The Empress, justly alarmed for her son, had anticipated the overtures of the usurper, sending to him pacific messages by a count whom Saint Ambrose accompanied. Another messenger of Maximus went haughtily to propose to Theodosius war or peace: peace, if that Emperor would accept the situation; war, if he were not too much afraid that the Barbarians would take advantage of a domestic strife to imperil the Empire.³ Maximus was



COIN OF MAXIMUS.²

determined to remain master of the Gallic provinces, but promised in no way to interfere with Valentinian II. The two adversaries were not personally acquainted, but they were both Spaniards, and had served together in Britain. Shall we suppose that Theodosius respected the military talents of the new Emperor, and hence felt some doubt as to the results of a war with the chief of the brave legions of Gaul? It may more probably be true that he hesitated from a patriotic fear of leaving his provinces open to Barbarian inroads, while he should be engaged with

¹ D. N. FL. VICTOR P. F. AVG., bust of the Emperor. Reverse: VIRTUS ROMANORVM. Rome helmeted, seated. (Silver coin.)

² Coin commemorative of the virtues of Maximus. D. N. MAG. MAXIMVS P. F. AVG., and bust of the Emperor. Reverse: VICTORIA AVGG. Maximus and Victor standing, holding a globe. (Gold coin.)

³ Zosimus, iv. 37.

all his forces far in the West. He had nothing to apprehend from Persia, again a prey to revolutions after the death of Sapor II. in 379, nor from the Goths, who, rejoicing in a peaceful establishment within the Empire, safe from the Huns, had at this time no leaders desirous of plunging them into new adventures. But the situation upon this double frontier might change at any moment; it was prudent to be always on the watch. Moreover, Theodosius had adapted himself to the new circumstances



SPORTS OF THE AMPHITHEATRE: A HORSE PULLED DOWN BY A LION.¹

which surrounded him. Still preserving his former affability, he was gratified with the luxury and pleasures of the court; in them he forgot the rude life of the soldier, and he seemed resolved not to resume that life unless an imperious necessity should compel him to do so. Whatever may have been his motives in forgetting Gratian and stretching out his hand to the man who had overthrown his benefactor, Theodosius accepted the offers of Maximus, and gave orders that the statues of the murderer should take the place of those of his victim, or should be erected at their side, in the principal cities of the East (384).

¹ Group in the Vatican, Museo Pio-Clementino, Hall of Animals.

The praetorian prefect Cynegius was intrusted with this duty, to which was added another; namely, that of prohibiting the pagan cult. "It was practised nowhere at this time," says Libanius, "except in Rome and in Alexandria; still it was yet permitted to light a fire upon altars and to burn perfumes." The government, which also allowed games and festivals to be celebrated, had therefore up to this time proscribed but half of the old worship, — the sacrifice of animals; and this, to prevent men from inquiring into the future by an examination of the entrails.¹ Possibly Theodosius would have left to the pagans this last and harmless consolation of offering a few grains of incense to the gods, had not the religious passions of the populace, which he made no efforts to control, broken out with special fury. The Emperor appearing to be on their side, the more zealous proceeded to acts of violence. "Bands of men," says Libanius, "ran through the country and the cities, overthrowing the altars, destroying the images of the gods, and sometimes killing the pontiffs."² The pagans defended their gods; a bishop of Apameia was killed in attempting to destroy the temples of that city. To arrest this disorder Theodosius regulated it. Cynegius had orders to close the temples;³ and he did this with so much zeal that he destroyed some of them. The army was employed in this work of propagating the Orthodox faith,⁴ as Louvois employed his dragoons in the conversion of French heretics. When Cynegius died, in 388, the Emperor, who in recognition of his services had just appointed him consul, caused his funeral to be observed with great pomp. This was a merited honor; after his time, and especially after the law of 391, countless pagan temples in the East were only ruins, or empty sepulchres of the old gods.⁵ How many magnificent works of art

¹ *Codex Theod.* xvi. 10, 9: . . . *Futura sub execrabili consultatione cognoscat.* Vanity naturally seeking all that was held separate, the Christians solicited the pagan office of pontiff in the provinces, in order to preside over the games and ceremonies; a law of 386 (*Codex Theod.* XVI. i. 112) prohibited it to them.

² Libanius, *Discourse in favor of the temples*. Tillemont (v. 733-4) dates the composition of this oration early in 384. Saint Jerome (*Ep.* 7) speaks of one Gracchus, prefect of Rome in 376, who also destroyed a number of statues and pulled down a sanctuary of Mithra.

³ Zosimus, iv. 37: . . . κλείδρα τοῖς τεμένεσιν ἐπιθεῖναι.

⁴ Libanius says this, and Socrates (v. 16) repeats it. Cynegius was so successful in Egypt that the Alexandrian Catholics erected a statue to him (*C. I. L.* vii. 19).

⁵ The verbose law of 381 (*Codex Theod.* xvi. 5, 7, in sect. 3), speaking of churches

were then destroyed!¹ Here and there we now find, under heaps of ruins, fragments of broken statues, and sometimes, in some secret hiding-place, images of the gods or of pontiffs, or objects employed in the proscribed cult which had been hastily buried to save them from profanation.² Three of the most beautiful works of antique sculpture—the Venus of Milo, the Farnese Hercules, and the Venus of the Capitol—were discovered in the recesses where pagan piety hid its persecuted gods.³ The busts of emperors or of private individuals are intact; the statues of gods and goddesses are almost invariably broken. From this difference we see what was the cause of all this breakage; and the facts related above authorize us in the belief that most of this destruction dates from the reign of Theodosius. At Sakkara the colossal tomb of the last Apis stands, leaving unfinished the subterranean gallery by which he was to go to his funeral chamber.⁴ Killed by imperial edict, the sacred animal could not receive the honors reserved at death for the representative of Osiris. A sanctuary

of the heretics, calls them *feralium mysteriorum sepulchra*. In the case of Rome, Saint Jerome (*Ep.* 7) writes that “the old gods of the nations have no other company in their niches than the mice and the owls,” and Saint Augustine (*Sermo* cv. 10) says that in 406 all idols had been overthrown.

¹ In 394 Theodosius abolished the Olympian games; and while he did not destroy the Jupiter of Pheidias, he transported it to Constantinople, where it was much less safe than on the banks of the Alpheus, — as the fact proved; for it was consumed by fire eighty years later (475).

² See General di Cesnola's work on Cyprus, and in the *Revue archéol.* of 1862, p. 245, a letter from M. de Vogüé relating the explorations which he had made in that island. “Our excavations,” he says, “have proved yet once more that all ancient monuments were destroyed, and even their foundations torn up.” A short distance from Golgos he found “a real necropolis of statues . . . all intentionally mutilated. Here, twenty heads in one hole; there arms, torsos, ex-votos, etc.”

³ The Venus of Milo was discovered in 1820, seven or eight feet under ground in a cavity four feet wide, with four small statues of Hermes; the Farnese Hercules eight feet under ground; the Venus of the Capitol in a hole hidden by ruins. (Cf. *Revue archéol.* of 1879, p. 81, *et seq.*) Gracchus, prefect of Rome under Theodosius, destroyed *specum Mithrae ac multa deorum simulacra* (Saint Jerome, *Letter* 107). P. Allard (*L'Art païen sous les empereurs chrétiens*) expresses the opinion that the iconoclastic fury of the Christians of the fourth century has been much exaggerated. That all the bishops did not urge their congregations to destroy temples and statues of the gods, is evident; but as before Constantine there were pagan outbreaks against the Christians which the government could neither foresee nor prevent, so there were, under this Emperor and after his time, Christian outbreaks against the pagan temples. This was the effect of the inevitable law of historic reactions.

⁴ Each Pharaoh began to build his tomb immediately upon his accession; in the same way was prepared that of the Apis, who after his death became Osiris under the name of Osar-Api, or Serapis.

renowned as the largest and richest in Asia, that of Serapis, had escaped the iconoclastic zeal of Cynegius.¹ In 391 Theodosius took



SERAPIS AND ISIS.²

advantage of an insult of the Alexandrians to order its destruction; he also laid a fine of fifteen pounds of gold upon any governor of a province who should enter one of the temples left standing;² and three years later he extinguished at Rome the flame of the last sacrifice upon the last altar.

At least he believed that he had done so; but if, in religious matters, the law can by its threats make conversions, men's consciences resist it, and it cannot destroy their old habits of belief. In this very year (391), when Theodosius, under pain of death, forbade sacri-

fices to the gods,⁴ the *taurobolium* was made in Rome, according to the ancient rites, and the initiated person believed that he found therein the usual promise of eternal life.⁵ The sacerdotal

¹ Two constitutions of 391 absolutely prohibit all the rites of pagan worship, and even visiting the temples which remained undestroyed. The judge who permits such entrance is to be fined fifteen pounds of gold, and his *officium* as much more (*Codex Theod.* xvi. 10 and 11). Two laws of 381 and 391 (*ibid.* xvi. 5, 19-20) forbid heretics to hold assemblies even outside the cities. Another lays a fine of ten pounds of gold upon whomsoever shall ordain a priest, or himself accept any office in an heretical sect (*ibid.* 21, anno 392). The same year the death-penalty was decreed against any person offering a sacrifice, and the confiscation of houses or lands, where incense had been burned to idols (*ibid.* xvi. 10, 12. Cf. Theodoret, v. 20, and Saint Augustine, *De Civ. Dei*, v. 26).

² *Codex Theod.* xvi. 10, 11. In this case the *officium* of the magistrate had to pay a fine unless these employees could prove that by main force they strove to prevent the act of their chief.

³ Serapis and Isis, on a lamp (Museum of the Louvre).

⁴ . . . *Divinis atque humanis sanctionibus indulgentius recognoscat* (Laws 10 and 11, title 10, book xvi., anno 391).

⁵ . . . *Per omnia probatissimus* (Or.-Henzén, No. 6,041). An inscription of 371 mentions another (*ibid.* No. 6,040).

colleges remained, although deprived of their official rights; Cybele still had her mutilated priests, Vesta her virgins, of whom one had lately been condemned for the violation of her vow;¹ and Ausonius, who put the pagan calendar into verse, indicated the days when should be celebrated, in honor of the gods, the festivals of the old cult;² and, lastly, while Prudentius strove to wield the scourge of Juvenal against the licentious devotees of the *Lupercalia* and the festivals of Flora,³ Saint Augustine tranquilly corresponded with pagan pontiffs, and saw pagan solemnities⁴ celebrated by the decurions at Madaura, and even at Hippo. Later, paganism was to have in Macrobius its theologian, and in the beautiful and learned Hypatia its martyr.⁵ Proclus, who gave its last form to Alexandrian philosophy, did not die till the year 485, and much later still the old pilgrimage places were frequented.⁶ Theodosius had been able to destroy the religious institutions of the state, but he could not prevent the private practice of the old rites, and the immensity of the Empire gave numerous asylums to religious liberty. We shall see even that this Emperor, so harsh in his laws, was constrained by public necessity to keep pagans about him, and even at the head of his armies. The Arabs, stronger than he, were destined to extirpate the last remnants of

¹ Symmachus, *Letter IX.* 118, 119. The letter is undated. Cf. *ibid.* 99, where is mentioned another vestal who wished to retire from her office before the legal period. There has lately been discovered in Rome, in excavations of the Forum, opposite St. Cosmo, the *atrium* of the house of the vestals. *Cippi* have been found there bearing bas-reliefs of chief vestals and inscriptions. One of the inscriptions, dated 364, had been chipped off with the chisel. Was it one of these vestals of whom Symmachus speaks, or perhaps a recreant from the old faith who had gone over to the new? In respect to these explorations, see the *Scavi di antichità* of December, 1883.

² *De Feriis Romanis.* By the constitution of 389 (*Codex Theod.* ii. 8, 19) Theodosius reduced the number of consecrated days to a hundred and twenty-five. Cf. Godefroy's commentary upon this law (i. 141). There remained, therefore, two hundred and forty *dies iudicarii*,—ten more only than the number fixed by Marcus Aurelius (*Capitolin.*, *Marc.* 10).

³ *Peristephanon*, Hymn x. 161-165. See in Wilmanns, Nos. 110-114, for the years 376, 377, many inscriptions of priests of the Mithriac mysteries. A senator calls himself *tauroboliatas*.

⁴ *Works*, ii. 22; in the reply of Saint Augustine to Maximus of Madaura.

⁵ Hypatia was so profoundly respected that a bishop from his death-bed wrote to her: "I have dictated this letter to you, O my mother, my sister, my mistress,—you to whom I owe so many benefits, and who deserve from me so many honors!" (*Druon, Synesius*, p. 55.) The Christian population of Alexandria tore her in pieces (415).

⁶ In the time of Zosimus (i. 58) phenomena still occurred at Aphaca which were regarded as miracles.

Egyptian paganism; but with the same blow they also put an end to the Christian faith in Egypt.



A VESTAL.²

Theodosius had the right to believe that his war on idols would gain for him divine protection; and he seems to have obtained it. The year 384 brought to him a twofold good fortune. The new king of Persia, Sapor III., sent him an embassy with rich presents, — a pledge of peace for the Eastern provinces;¹ and the Empress Flaccilla bore him a second son, Honorius, — a promise of duration for his dynasty. Certain foolish persons, struck with the malady of the time, — the practice of magical arts, — being accused of plots against the Emperor and condemned to death, Theodosius pardoned them. This was a reasonable act, which we should enumerate in the list of the fortunate things that happened to him about this time (385). Finally, one of his generals gained an important victory over the Gruthunges, who were endeavoring to seek fortune

within the limits of the Empire. Promotus deceived them by means of pretended deserters, who promised to deliver up to them the Roman army. While they were crossing the river in disorder, the Roman general sent out against them his strong, swift galleys, which crushed and sank their frail skiffs.³ Many of the

¹ A law of 387 (*Codex Theod.* xii. 13, 6) shows that Sophene was governed by a satrap in some degree dependent upon the Empire. This may perhaps have resulted from the embassy of 384.

² Mutilated statue found at Rome in 1883.

³ Claudian speaks of three thousand vessels of the Barbarians; to take away one cipher would leave the number still too large.

Barbarians were drowned, — among them the king, Odotheus; and those who succeeded in reaching the right bank of the Danube were killed or taken prisoners. Theodosius had no share in this engagement; but, according to custom, the honor of it fell to him, and he made a triumphal entry into Constantinople with Arcadius (Oct. 12, 386). This was not enough for the flatterers;



REMAINS OF THE HOUSE OF THE VESTALS AT ROME (EXCAVATIONS OF 1883).

they chose to maintain that Odotheus had fallen by the Emperor's hand; and Claudian, recalling to Honorius the exploits of his father, regrets that new Rome had not enjoyed the spectacle which old Rome saw but three times. — namely, the triumphant general bearing the *spolia opima* obtained on the battle-field by killing with his own hand the hostile chief.¹

It was probably at this time that Theodosius replaced upon a pedestal, wretchedly carved by his artists, the obelisk of Constan-

¹ . . . *Odothaei regis opima rettulit* (verse 632). [This Odotheus is identical with Alatheus, mentioned on p. 265.]

tine, which had been thrown down by an earthquake.¹ A little later, but before the Emperor's death, his son Arcadius erected in his

honor a triumphal column, a rival to those Roman monuments which commemorate the exploits of the Antonines.

The following year was less propitious. Theodosius desired to celebrate at the same time his own tenth year of empire and the *quinquennalia* of his eldest son. But this celebration required enormous expenses for games and festivals, and greater still for the gifts that must be made to the army. The financial system was always extremely bad, immunities numerous, extortions endless, notwithstanding the repeated ordinances of the Emperors,² who sought by threats to alarm the guilty, but not by reforms to render abuses impossible. Theodosius charged the expenses of the celebration to his subjects by increasing the taxes, without



MARBLE STATUE OF FLORA.³

deducting the sums which, according to custom, should be offered him as gratuities on the occasion. When, at the close of February, 387, the edict was made known to the people of Antioch assembled in the Tychaeum,⁴ a great uproar was made. "We are ruined!"

¹ See the engraving facing p. 306. For the bas-reliefs of this column (facing p. 302), see Banduri, *Imperium Orientale*, ii. 513, and D'Agincourt, *Histoire de l'Art*, ii. 40 *et seq.*, and vol. iv. pl. xi. from ancient designs. Only the base of the column now remains.

² See those of Theodosius in the *Codex Theod.* x. 24, 3; xi. 1, 19; xii. 6, 18, 22, etc.

³ Found in 1744 at the Villa Hadriana (Capitol, Hall of the Dying Gladiator, No. 11).

⁴ All important cities had had a temple to Fortune (Τύχη), before which the governors caused their official acts to be read aloud.

they exclaimed; "the life that will be left us is worthless" (*βίος ἀβίωτος*);¹ and it is quite possible that the name of Maximus was



SAPOR III.
(GOLD COIN.)

spoken, as some months later it was in the sedition at Alexandria. The magistrate was obliged to conceal himself; the crowd threw down the statues of Theodosius, of his father, his sons, and of the Empress Flaccilla, and dragged them through the streets with ropes around their necks. After this the mob attempted to set fire to houses; but a little band of

archers came up, a few arrows shot among the crowd dispersed them, and the judge reappeared on his tribunal. The wounded remained where they fell; the rioters, arrested at random, were brought before him, sent to the torture or to the arena, or burned at the stake;



COIN OF THE EMPRESS FLACCILLA.²

and magistrates and senators of the city were shut up in the common prison, where they awaited with the keenest anxiety the sentence of the Emperor.

The good qualities of Theodosius were spoiled by a grave fault,—the violence of a mind which, in its paroxysms of anger, lost all feeling of moderation, or even of justice. When the news from Antioch reached Constantinople, the Emperor at first proposed to exterminate the entire population and destroy the city completely. Although he did not, it is true, on this occasion yield to his first fury, the commissioners whom he sent had very rigorous orders. They were to take from Antioch her revenues and her territory; put an end to her festivals and games; reduce her to the condition of a country town, making Laodiceia the metropolis of Syria; and, finally, resume judicial investigations and punish those whom they believed guilty. Prosecutions, tortures, condemnations to death or banishment, with confiscations of property, began anew; but the judges had not the heart to execute all that they pronounced.

¹ Libanius, *Disc.* xiv. and xv., and Saint John Chrysostom, *Disc.* v., to the people of Antioch. It is noteworthy that the rioters began, as in more recent times, by breaking the lanterns in the streets.

² AEL. FLACCILLA AVG., and the bust of the Empress. Reverse: SALVS REI PVBLICAE. Victory seated, holding a buckler, on which is the Christian monogram. (Gold coin.)

Flavianus, bishop of the city, Libanius, the pagan whom even Christian Emperors respected, the hermits from Mount Lebanon, all came to implore mercy from the imperial commissioners; and one of the latter consented to go to Constantinople in the hope of softening the rigor of the Emperor. He made over seven hundred miles in six days. Flavianus preceded him. Theodosius, whose anger had abated, was willing to forgive; he could not destroy the chief city of the East; moreover, had he not punished it enough by the executions that had already taken place, and by his threats of further penalties?¹ During more than a month the frivolous city had lived in terror, and had, with reason, dreaded the fury of the man who soon after this was to order the massacre of Thessalonica.

Valentinian II., the sovereign of Western Illyria, Italy, and Africa, lived peacefully in provinces that were molested by no enemies.² He reigned, while his mother, the Empress Justina, governed. She had the tolerant spirit of her husband; remaining on good terms with Ambrose, she had twice employed him on important missions, at the same time receiving at her court an Arian bishop, Auxentius; and she retained in public office persons of ability without inquiring into their creed,—for instance, the Frankish counts Bauto and Rumorid; Symmachus, prefect of the city, and one of the last of Roman authors; and the praetorian prefect Praetextatus, pontiff of Vesta and of the Sun.³ It is at his house that Macrobius represents the Saturnalia as taking place; and as this priest of the Sun had the same faith with the Emperor Julian, his wife believed that at his death he also was transported into the midst of the stars of the Milky Way (*in lacteo caeli palatio*).⁴ To the Christians he was naturally “the wretched leader of a sacrilegious worship,” and instead of the starry sphere, Saint Jerome assigns him for his dwelling “the dark filth of the infernal regions” (*sordentibus tenebris*). Elsewhere the same Saint represents to us, by a charming figure, the position of the two cults towards each other,

¹ Gregory Nazianzen, *Homilies*, ii. 1, 2, v. 3, edit. Migne, and numerous writings of Saint John Chrysostom, at this time a priest in Antioch, in vol. ii. of the Benedictine edition.

² There was only a collision with the Sarmatae, who left in the hands of the Romans a few prisoners sent to Rome to perish in the arena (Symmachus, *Letter X.* 61).

³ Wilmanns, No. 1,236. His wife had been initiated into the mysteries of Ceres, Cora, and Bacchus, and had performed the *taurobolium* (Gruter, p. 319, note 1).

⁴ Saint Jerome, *Letter 23*, edit. Migne.



BAS-RELIEF FROM A TRIUMPHAL COLUMN ERECTED ON THE HIPPODROME OF CONSTANTINOPLE IN MEMORY OF THE VICTORIES
OF THEODOSIUS.



when he describes the old man, priest of Jupiter, holding upon his knee his little daughter, who is murmuring a Christian prayer, — past and future being thus united by a mutual love.

Paganism, deserted by the Emperors, had fallen back slowly, sustained as it was by the habits of the people and by the wisdom of a few lofty minds who brought all the gods into one Divine Unity. Others were struck by the contrast between the greatness of the past and the humiliation of the present. Rome especially, still full of monuments of her ancient glory, measured the decline of the Empire by the advance of the new faith, and pagan senators were ready to believe that in banishing the Victory from the curia, they had banished her from the armies as well. They claimed from Valentinian II. the abolition of Gratian's decree, and it was the occasion of a memorable debate between Symmachus and Saint Ambrose, the bishop of Milan.²

VICTORY-FORTUNE.¹

This patrician, son of a praetorian prefect, himself a governor before he became bishop, had carried into his episcopal career the habits of command which characterized his house; the spirit of domination and the political skill of the old Roman senators seemed to have passed into him. By his birth, his surroundings, and his genius he secured a position in the state very useful to his ecclesiastical interests, and he had for the Church the ambition which the world did not inspire. He believed that all things must yield to Religion, interpreted by her ministers; on one occasion he wrote to Theodosius: "True piety is that which prefers heaven to earth, eternal possessions to those which are but for a day;"³ and he cited as proof the passage

¹ The Victory is designated by the helmet and wings, and Fortune by the wheat-ears and the rudder, — her usual symbol. Intaglio of the *Cabinet de France*, No. 1,535 (chrysoprase 12 millim. in height, and 9 in breadth). See in Vols. I. p. 680; II. 70, 174; III. 197, 199, etc. (engraved stones or statues), and Vol. VI. p. 511 (bas-relief), other Victories, marking, when compared with this, the increasing decline of art.

² They were relatives. See De Rossi, *Bull. di Arch. crist.*, 1864, p. 76, and 1863, p. 15.

³ *Ea vera pietas quae praeponebat divina humanis, perpetua temporalibus* (Ambrose, *Letter* 66).

of Scripture where it is said that "brother shall deliver up brother to death, and the father his child; and children shall rise up against parents, and cause them to be put to death."¹ Eloquent, fearless, rich, but using his episcopal revenues only to relieve the poor, he enjoyed in Milan, where the Emperor resided, a popularity which compelled the court to respect his opinions, and, outside, a reputation which gave him the first rank in Christendom. When Symmachus was sent by his colleagues to beg from Gratian the restoration of the altar of Victory and the restitution of the revenues which defrayed the expenses of the pagan worship, Pope Damasus did no more than send to Ambrose the protest of the Christian minority in the Senate. The Bishop of Milan, more resolute in the matter, personally interposed to prevent the Emperor from receiving Symmachus. Encouraged by the tolerant disposition of Justina, the Senate endeavored to make Valentinian II. reverse his brother's decision. Symmachus again went to Milan, and laid before the Emperor an eloquent petition: "Since the First Cause is enveloped in mystery," he said, "how can men know the gods except by history and the tradition of the elders? It seems to me, excellent Emperor, that Rome stands in your presence, and that she says to you: Father of the country, respect my old age. Let me live as I desire. This religion has brought the world under my law. It drove Hannibal from my walls, and the Gauls from the Capitol. I beg for peace for the gods of the country, and I implore you that the imperial treasury be kept full from the spoils of the enemy, and not from the possessions of the pontiffs."² This was eloquence, but it was not argument. Ambrose, who had obtained sight of the petition of Symmachus before the meeting of the imperial council, made a reply to it which was less brilliant but more apposite. He showed that the pontiffs and the vestals had never saved Rome from defeat; he claimed religious liberty for the Christian senators, who, not being allowed

In the *De Obitu Theod.* he praises the zeal manifested by Josiah, king of Judah, in the destruction of idolatry. Firmicus Maternus, in his work *De errore prof. relig.*, had shown, about the year 345, the same intolerance. Even the gentle Augustine applauded persecution, *quis non laudat leges . . . adversus sacrificia paganorum . . . illius quippe impietatis capitale supplicium est* (Letter 95).

¹ See on this subject, pp. 177-199 of this volume.

² Symmachus, Letter X. 54. Not only did the public treasury profit by these confiscations, but also the courtiers and their followers,—those, at least, whom Symmachus calls "miserable litter-carriers."

to be present at sacrilegious rites, would be constrained to renounce their office as high counsellors of the Empire; and, at this early period, beginning the use of excommunication against monarchs, he threatened Valentinian, if that Emperor should yield to the request of the pagans, with closing against him the Church. To appeal to the rights of conscience was more politic than honest; for in a second memorial Ambrose asked that the Empire should be set free from paganism. But his arguments sufficed to convince those who were already persuaded. No one in the imperial council favored this aggressive movement of an expiring faith. A few of the members were pagans, or rather were not Christians; but the financial aspect of what seemed a religious question decided them. The confiscated property of the pagan temples had brought in a considerable income to the public treasury; the courtiers had had their share in it also; and to make restitution would be hard. To avoid these consequences the whole request was refused; Jupiter, Apollo, and Vesta were condemned. Twenty years later Prudentius celebrated this victory of Ambrose, in verses more remarkable for Christian sentiment than for Vergilian poetry.¹

Justina allowed the pagan grievance to go unredressed; but she made an attempt to defend, against the intolerance of Orthodoxy, the Arians, who, under the predecessor of Ambrose, had become very numerous in Milan. Their bishop, Auxentius, a Goth by birth, obtained from her in an inconspicuous part of the palace an oratory, which Ambrose called "the stables of the Empress." For the celebration of Easter, 385, Justina proposed to give back to them one of the churches of which Gratian had deprived them. Imperial officers were sent to summon Ambrose to give up to the Arians the Porcian Basilica (St. Victor), which was outside the walls, and in the city itself the new Basilica, which was a larger building. Ambrose rejoined that he could not give up a temple of God. The whole city, for many days, was in such a state of agitation that a riot was apprehended;² the people gathered about their bishop to protect him, for the authorities had set a military guard around the Basilica, and had put up the imperial escutcheon

¹ The two books of Prudentius against Symmachus are, however, his best work.

² Augustine, *Confess.* ix. 7.

on its façade,¹ as if the church were a part of the imperial domain.² The miracles which were seen following the discovery of the remains of two martyrs, Gervasius and Protasius, came to the aid of the ardent preaching of Saint Ambrose,³ as at a later date the discovery at Antioch of the soldier's spear which pierced the side of Jesus on the cross, revived the flagging courage of the Crusaders. The court was reduced to imploring the bishop to pacify the crowd, and promising him that the Basilica should be left to the Catholics.

This humiliation was felt even by the young Emperor, who complained in violent terms that he had been compelled to submit to the yoke of a rebellious priest. The Empress took her revenge. The isolated attempt having failed, she published (Jan. 23, 386) a law, valid throughout the whole empire of Valentinian II., authorizing assemblies of those who adopted the creed of Rimini;⁴

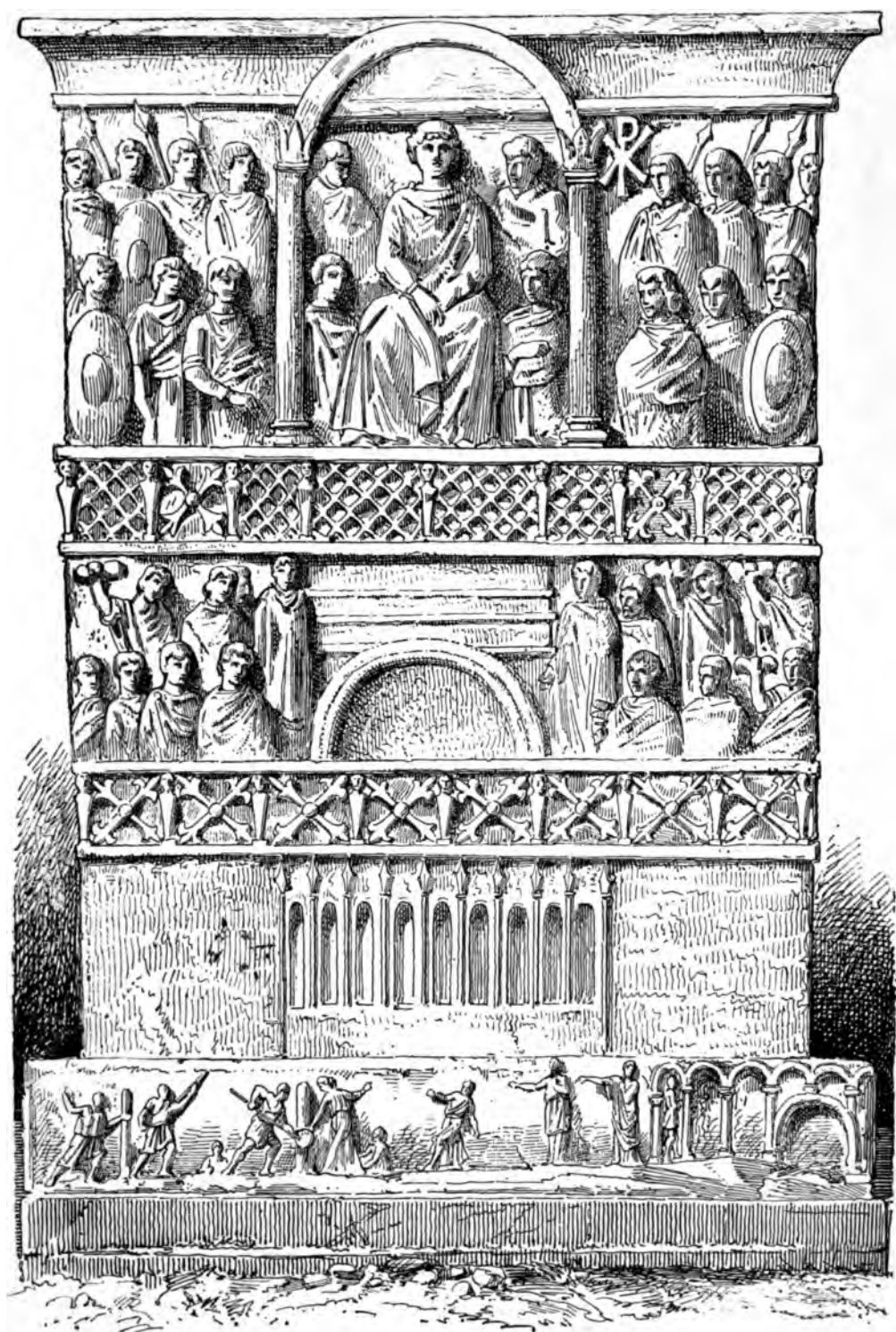
¹ These were strips of cloth bearing the Emperor's likeness. This usage has been preserved; and to display the escutcheon, arms, or flag of a monarch or nation, symbolizes taking possession.

² On this subject, see the long account given by Canon Hermant, in his *Vie de Saint Ambroise*, derived from the *Letters* of the bishop and the narrative by his secretary, Paulinus. Ambrose remained for several nights shut up in the New Basilica, while the people kept guard without. The regular chanting of antiphonal hymns in the Western Church is believed to date from these night-watches in Milan. The Eastern Churches had long employed this method of retaining the attention of the worshippers (Saint Basil, *Letters to the Church of Neo-Caesarea*, 63, 64). Saint Ambrose established it at Milan, whence it spread throughout the West (Augustine, *Confess.* ix. 6, 7: *Quantum fleui [at Milan] in hymnis et canticis tuis, suave sonantis ecclesiae tuae vocibus commotus acriter*). To Saint Ambrose has also been attributed the *Te Deum*; but it was not his composition. See Canon Hermant, *ibid.* p. 304.

³ Augustine, *Confess.* ix. 7; *De Civ. Dei*, xxii. 8. God, it was said, had revealed to Ambrose in a dream that the bodies of the two martyrs were under the church of St. Felix and St. Nabor; old men, however, had read the inscription upon their tomb. At this time there was a great traffic in relics. Tillemont (v. 255) acknowledges this, and the *Theodosian Code* attests it, under the title, *De Sepulcris violatis*, ix. 17, 7: *Humatum corpus nemo ad alterum locum transferat, nemo martyrem distrahat, nemo mercetur* (Feb. 26, 386).

⁴ See *Codez Theod.* xvi. 1, 4. Godefroy, in his commentary on this law (vi. 16), says: . . . *Justinæ matris impulsu . . . et Gothorum consilio praesidioque, qui tum Arianæ erant et in comitatu frequentes, quod ex oratione Ambrosii initio colligere mihi videtur*. Saint Ambrose himself speaks frequently of the Goths in the service of the court of Milan. There were also many Arians in the city, for the predecessor of Ambrose in the see of Milan was an Arian, and at his death there were great disturbances caused by the diversity of beliefs (Socrates, *Hist. eccl.* iv. 30). The "persecution" of Saint Ambrose, as the Church historians call it, had two periods, — one preceding, and one following the decree of January, but throughout it concerned the giving up of churches to the Arians; and we have brought together all the facts, being concerned only with the political aspect of the affair.

NOTE. — The illustration on the opposite page represents the base on which Theodosius placed an obelisk of Constantine, and on which he himself is represented as a spectator of the games (formerly in the hippodrome of Constantinople). From Agincourt's *Histoire de l'Art*, vol. ii. p. 39, and vol. iv. *Sculpt.* pl. x.



BASE ON WHICH THEODOSIUS PLACED AN OBELISK OF CONSTANTINE.

nd

but this confession of faith was mostly forgotten, and there were few Arians in Italy except at Milan, among those surrounding Justina, and in the palatine cohorts, which were generally composed of Goths. The decree displeased the Orthodox clergy, whose number and confidence had been increased by the laws of Gratian and Theodosius. To bring these churchmen to the peaceable acceptance of their adversaries' equality, a stronger hand than a woman's was needed.

Maximus at once saw the advantage that he could derive from this feeble provocation. He had already given sanguinary pledges to Orthodoxy. An Egyptian had brought into Spain an incoherent medley of Manichæan and Gnostic doctrines, demanding many austerities, and authorizing, it was said, much license. At least the accuser of the sect, the bishop Ithacius, who had none of the virtues of his station,¹ reproached it with the abominations of which religious adversaries have long been accustomed to suspect one another. Condemned under Gratian by the Council of Saragossa (380), threatened later with a further sentence by the Council of Bordeaux, the Priscillianists — so-called from the most important person among them — appealed to the Emperor, who constituted himself judge of religious doctrines. Torture plucked from them the customary confessions, and they were put to death.² This was the first heretical blood shed by a Christian ruler after process of law; we remark further — a presage of the future — that this persecution was instigated by Spanish bishops. Maximus regarded it chiefly as a political act; he wished to give the Catholics of Italy, threatened in their religion by an Arian court, the assurance that beyond the Alps there reigned an Orthodox Emperor.

When he became aware of the law of January 23, he addressed

¹ Pacatus, *Pan. vet.* xii. 29. As a matter of course we have none of the writings of these sectaries, for they were carefully destroyed.

² Notwithstanding the Emperor's promise to Saint Martin that these persons should not be put to death, seven of them perished, — among the number a woman of high birth, Eucrotia; others were condemned to banishment in 383. Saint Ambrose also disapproved of this execution. To the gentle and loving Saint Augustine belongs the sad credit of having established in the Church the doctrine of the *compelle intrare*, following the scriptural injunction that to the wise should be given the opportunity to become wiser. In the time of the revocation of the Edict of Nantes, his two *Letters*, to Vincent and to Boniface, were published in French with the title: *Conformité de la conduite des églises de France pour ramener les protestants avec celle des églises d'Afrique pour ramener les donatistes à l'Église catholique*.

to Valentinian a letter, which was really designed for the Italian Catholics; and to give himself time to complete his preparations, he lulled to sleep the vigilance of Justina by pacific messages. He had been for a long time occupied in increasing his troops by calling in a great multitude of Barbarians from across the Rhine. In the following summer he seized upon the Alpine defiles, under pretext of sending succor to his colleague for a campaign in Pannonia,



MAXIMUS AND
HIS SON.²

and descended rapidly into the plains of the Po. Valentinian had only time to escape from Milan (September, 377), and even from Aquileia; he embarked with his mother and his sister Galla on board a vessel which carried them to Thessalonica.¹ while Maximus added to his easy conquests Pannonia, where only Emona (Laybach) resisted him. This time Theodosius could no longer hesitate; the murderer of Gratian, who had just now seized a second empire without fighting, would certainly gain a third, — the East would fall to him after the West. Theodosius united his cause irrevocably to Valentinian's by marrying at Thessalonica the beautiful Galla,³ who, the following year, bore him a daughter, Placidia, destined to strange adventures. As winter was coming on, hostilities did not begin; the two adversaries besides had need of time, — one, to strengthen his new power; the other, to prepare for a great war. Theodosius had to take special precautions. An embassy sent to Ctesiphon, and much gold distributed at the court of the Persian king, secured the tranquillity of the Oriental provinces. We may also believe that along the Danube the Gothic pensions were increased; and a reduction in taxes accorded to the diocese of Thrace, which covered Constantinople, is doubtless of this year.⁴ And, lastly, the Emperor hoped to secure peace and silence in the

¹ Zosimus, iv. 43; Theodoret, v. 15.

² BONO REI PVBLICAE NATI. Maximus and Flavius Victor, seated, facing each other, each holding a globe; between them a half-length Victory. Reverse of an *aureus* of the Augustus Fl. Victor (British Museum).

³ . . . ἐξαίσιφ διαπρέπουσαν κάλλει (Zosimus, iv. 44). The Empress Flaccilla had died in 386 (?).

⁴ *Codex Just.* xi. 51. This undated constitution of Theodosius and Valentinian II. abolished the capitation tax in Thrace, and left only the *jugatio terrena*. Another of 494 (*ibid.* x. 27, 2) speaks as of an old custom of favors accorded to the *possessores* of Thrace in respect to the annony dues. The Emperors by these favors purchased the favor of the new suburban province.

interior of the Empire by re-enacting the severe laws already made against heretics, and prohibiting, under pain of exile, all religious



PLACIDIA AND HER SON.¹

discussions.² He did not call for troops from his people, who paid in gold for this exemption; but he asked many from the Barbarians, whom he believed that he enfeebled by taking from them their best

¹ *Treasure of Monza*, pl. iv. Placidia is represented with her son, the young Valentinian III.; on the second leaf of the diptych is a figure in military dress, doubtless representing the general Constantius, husband of Placidia.

² *Codex Theod.* xvi. 4, 2. Cf. Tillemont, v. 288, who says of this law: "It was often repeated both by the Roman Emperors and by the Kings of France." Law 3, under the same title, shows the penalty to be transportation.

soldiers. The Goths, Alans, and Huns furnished him a numerous infantry and an excellent cavalry,¹ — dangerous auxiliaries, of most uncertain fidelity, who learned as Roman soldiers, and later employed against the Empire, all the military science that Rome could teach them. Two of the most valued generals of Theodosius were the Franks Richomer and Arbogastes. The Gallic army was likewise largely composed of Barbarians.

During these months of preparation and expectancy, the two Emperors exchanged pacific messages, — lying negotiations, in which treacherous intrigues were concealed. The panegyrist of Theodosius does not say this, but it is asserted of Maximus.² I believe it true of both; and the numerous desertions from the Gallic army at this period give reason to think that efforts had been made for a long time among these troops by agents of Theodosius. Arbogastes, to whom is attributed the defeat of Maximus,⁴ and who had great influence among his own people, was probably the principal mover in these secret negotiations. Theodosius doubtless remembered well how Constantius triumphed over Magnentius and Vetranio.



MEDIUM BRONZE.³

Early in May, 388, Theodosius quitted Thessalonica; on the 16th of June he was at Stobi; on the 21st, in the famous defile of Scupi (Uschküb), whence he descended into the valley of the Save, following this river as far as to Siscia (Sisek), the most advanced position held by Maximus. A bold cavalry charge of his Huns and Alans gave him the passage of the river, the city, and a great quantity of supplies.⁵ A second engagement, perhaps at Petovio (Pettau), was more serious, and still more unfavorable to the Emperor of the West, who lost a part of his troops by desertion. The conqueror pushed his advantage sharply. Emona opened its gates to him, he crossed the Julian Alps without fighting, and appeared before Aquileia, which had neither the ability nor the inclination to defend itself. The

¹ Pacatus, *Pan. vet.* 32: . . . *Tua benignitate pellectae omnes Scythicae nationes tantis examinibus confluebant ut, quem remiseras tuis, barbaris videreris imperasse delectum.*

² Zosimus, iv. 45.

³ Theodosius, in helmet and military dress, on a vessel of which the rudder is held by a Victory.

⁴ Orosius, vii. 35.

⁵ Pacatus, *Pan. vet.* xii. 34.

Augustus, — since his defeat now merely a usurper, — was brought before Theodosius bound hand and foot, and was beheaded (July 27, or August 28). The consuls of republican Rome had been wont to announce to the Senate their victories by despatches wreathed with laurel; the head of Maximus, carried about through all the chief cities of the Empire, showed to the provincials that the war between the two Barbarian armies, which filled the place of the old Roman legions, was ended. The partisans of the Gallic Emperor, falling with himself into the hands of the victorious soldiery, his Moorish guards, and, a little later, his young son, were put to death. The murderer of Gratian, Andragathos, was not at Aquileia; he was cruising fruitlessly in the Adriatic to prevent a descent of the Theodosians into Italy, and at news of the disaster threw himself into the sea.

The author of a panegyric on Theodosius, with the audacious mendacity necessary in this kind of literature, extols the clemency of his hero. "After your victory," he says to the Emperor in the presence of the Senate, "there were neither confiscations nor fines, neither reproaches nor chastisements; each man was permitted to retain his rank. With the exception of two or three expiatory victims, all have been received back into favor, as to a mother's breast."² The Code uses different language; Theodosius here speaks in person, and this is what he says: "Let no man dare to retain the honors conferred by the most abominable of tyrants. The laws that he promulgated and the sentences that he pronounced are abolished."³ Inasmuch as Maximus had reigned five years, the whole social order was imperilled, and Theodosius was constrained the following year to except from this general annulment all agreements made

AN AUREUS.¹

¹ Reverse of an aureus of the Augustus Fl. Victor (British Museum).

² *Duobus aut tribus . . . in belli piaculum caesis, reliquos omnes velut quodam materno sinu clausit* (Pacatus, *Pan. vet.* 45). Pacatus pronounced his panegyric in the presence of Theodosius in 391, consequently after the massacre of Thessalonica, of which, naturally, he does not speak.

³ *Codex Theod.* xv. 14, 6 and 8. On the confiscation of the property of the partisans and officers of Maximus, see Godefroy's commentary on law 3, title 22, of book iv., anno 389.

between parties in good faith, gifts that had been accepted, and enfranchisements that had been granted.¹ Another law implies numerous confiscations; and it would not be rash to suppose that the Frank Arbogastes, sent into Gaul to kill the boy Augustus, Victor, took other lives also.



VALENTINIAN II.²

Saint Ambrose speaks of many saved, at his entreaty, from exile, prison, and death.³ There were therefore condemnations after the victory, and doubtless executions also, before the prayers of the bishop could reach the Emperor; for in cases like these the blow followed the word without delay. The mother and the daughters of Maximus escaped punishment, but not the confiscation of all that they possessed.

At first exiled, and afterwards required to live in Spain, they were maintained by a pension from the state. Claudian, in the reign of Honorius, extols the clemency of Theodosius, and we praise it still. It was for the interest of the court and the Church so clamorously to applaud the compassion of this vindictive Emperor, that the cries of his victims might not be heard.

Valentinian II. was restored to his domains; his empire appeared to be doubled, by the addition of the Gallic prefecture to that of Italy; but he was only seventeen years of age, and as a matter of fact, after the defeat of Maximus, Theodosius remained sole master of the West, as well as of the East.⁴

¹ *Codex Theod.* xv. 14, 8. A law of Jan. 23, 389, on the subject of legacies made to the Emperor, of which Tillemont says: "It was greatly to the honor of Theodosius," does scarcely more than renew a former ordinance of Septimius Severus (Vol. VI. pp. 560, 561). I do not regard it as necessary to take account of a sentence by a poor historian, the author of the *Epitome*, who relates in a few lines the reign of Theodosius and represents him as giving back to its owners the money which Maximus had extorted.

² *Letter 40*; Symmachus, *Letters*, iii. 33.

³ *RESTITVTOR REI PVBLICAE*. The Emperor, standing, a nimbus around his head, holds the *labarum* and assists a turret-crowned woman to rise. (Reverse of a gold medallion.)

⁴ *Theodosius, interfecto per Maximum Gratiano, imperium Romani orbis solus obtinuit* (Orosius, vii. 35). Coins represent Theodosius holding the helm of the Empire.

IV.—SAINT AMBROSE; THE PENITENCE OF THEODOSIUS (390).

FOR fifteen years Ambrose had been a power in Milan. Courtied by Gratian, respected by Valentinian II. and Maximus, victorious over the Arian heresy and over the Empress Justina,¹ he had early gained the confidence of Theodosius. But this was not enough; the bishop seems to have wished to direct the Emperor's conduct as well as his conscience, and to be informed as to his plans. It had not as yet become usual for the bishops to be members of the council, and Ambrose took means to learn all that went on there. This interference of a priest in public affairs displeased many, among them the Emperor himself; and the indiscreet informers were threatened with the severest penalties. The bishop went so far as to complain to Theodosius by letter² that he alone of all the Emperor's friends was kept in ignorance. It was not yet forty years since Constantine's death, and already Ambrose was dreaming of a community which, to find the way of salvation, should be ruled by bishops, the necessary mediators between Heaven and earth.

At the eastern extremity of the Empire, a small city on the banks of the Euphrates, Callinicum by name, had a synagogue, which the bishop of the place caused to be burned by his monks. No law had prohibited the Hebrew worship,³ the Emperor owed the Jews protection, and as they were numerous on that frontier, it seemed dangerous to refuse it to them. Theodosius decided that the bishop should rebuild the edifice. This infraction of the public peace was a question of civil order. Ambrose made it a religious question; "for it is proper that the discipline of the state be subordinated to religion."⁴ In a long letter addressed to the Emperor he calls the synagogue of Callinicum a house of impiety,

¹ This Empress seems to have died during the war with Maximus.

² Ambrose, *Ep.* 51: *Soli mihi in tuo comitatu jus naturae ereptum videbam audiendi.*

³ *Codex Theod.* xvi. 8, 9: . . . *Judaeorum sectam nulla lege prohibitam.* Dion Cassius (xxvii. 17) had said the same at the beginning of the third century, and this toleration dated even from the Republic. (Cf. Vol. VI. p. 523, note 1.) Outside of Callinicum there was a temple of the Valentinians, a kind of Gnostics. This was pillaged and burned as well as the synagogue.

⁴ *Quid est amplius, disciplinae species an causa religionis? Cedat oportet censura devo-*

a receptacle of folly (although there was one in the very city of Milan, near his own cathedral), and he closes his communication with a threat: "I write to you," he says, "that you may hear me in your palace, lest otherwise it should be necessary that you hear me in the church."¹ This threat was fulfilled; when Theodosius came to perform his devotions in the cathedral, the bishop summoned him, in the presence of all the congregation, to revoke his decree. While the Emperor hesitated, Ambrose suspended the service. Standing before Theodosius, he said: "I am in trouble and anxiety; give my mind liberty, that I may offer for you the sacrifice." Theodosius, feeble like all violent persons, at last yielded.² It was a small matter, but had important results. The struggle between the priesthood and the Empire had hitherto been in words only; it had now come to acts, and the Empire had been the one to give way. This bishop, who maintains that the monks were right in burning temples, is already on the road by which the Church will go so far as to find it good that heretics be burned.³

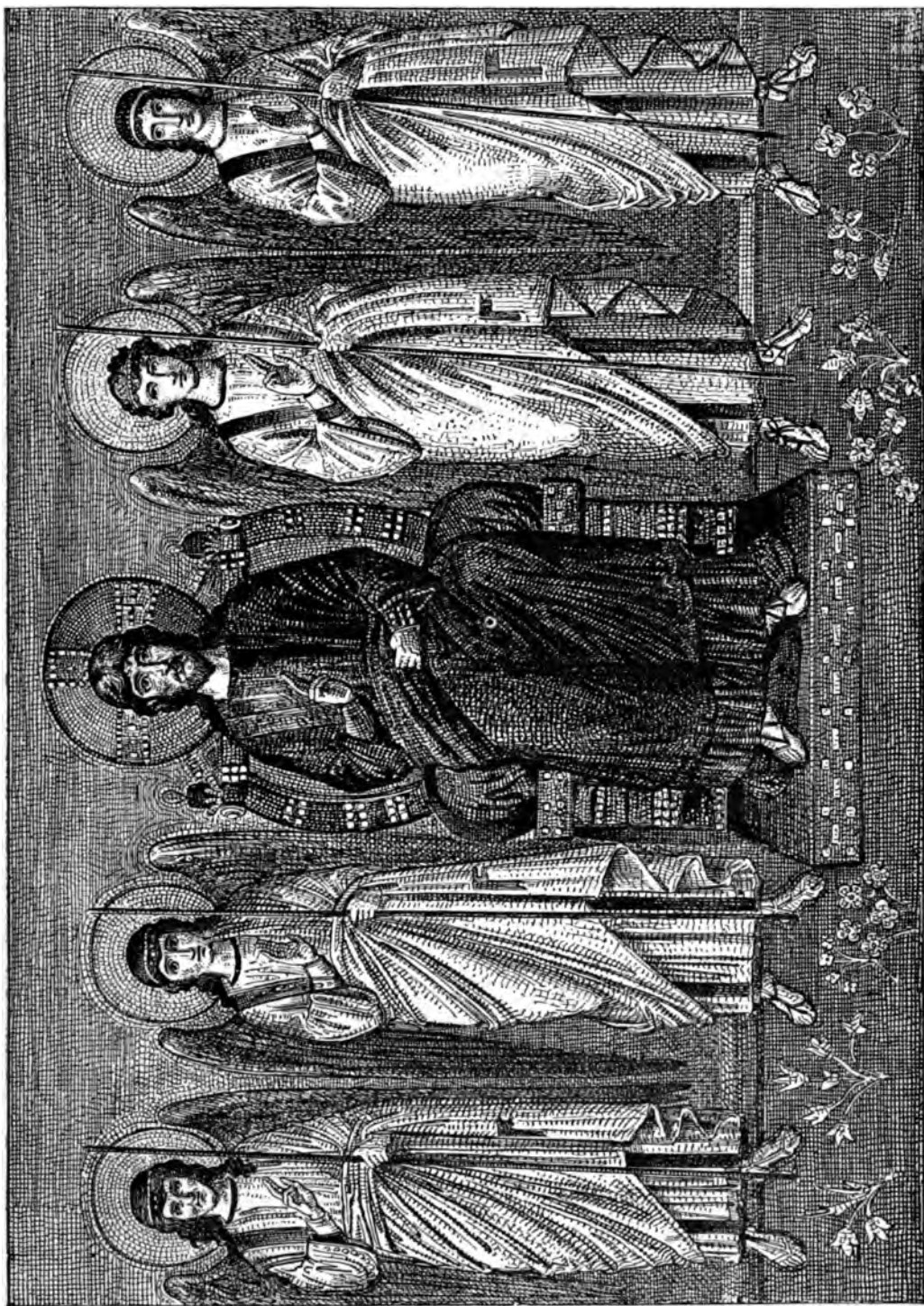
In this affair Ambrose was wrong; in another, which occurred soon after, he was right. An error of the Emperor — which indeed we should call by its true name, a crime — revealed to the Church that she might make herself the judge of monarchs, and employ against them the formidable weapon of excommunication.

tioni (Ambrose, *Ep.* 40, sect. 11). He had said to the Council of Aquileia (*Letter* 1): "The bishops should judge the laity, and not the laity the bishops." Cf. Canon Hermant, *Vie de Saint Ambroise*, p. 141.

¹ *Feci ut me magis audires in regia, ne necesse esset audires in ecclesia* (Ambrose, *Ep.* 40; cf. *ibid.* 41).

² Ambrose wrote to Theodosius: *Habes naturae impetum, quem si quis lenire vellet, cito vertes ad misericordiam, si quis stimulet, in majus exsuscitas, ut eum revocare vix possis* (*Ep.* 51, sect. 4). This inconsistency of character, so unfortunate in a monarch, appears in his character and in his laws. Almost on the same day Symmachus is exiled and is pardoned (*Symm. Ep.* ii. 31; Tillemont, v. 300). According to Saint Ambrose, the inhabitants of Thessalonica, condemned in the morning, are pardoned in the evening, and condemned anew the following day. Proculus is sent to be executed, and then his sentence is suspended, but too late. In the affair of Antioch there were the same alternations. Under the influence of the bishop, Theodosius deprives the Eunomians of the right to make a will or to receive by one (*Codez Theod.* xvi. 5, 17). Under that of his other advisers (*pleniore consilio*), he restores to them their civil rights (*ibid.* 23). He legislates concerning deaconesses in one way at Milan (xvi. 2, 27), and in another way at Verona three months later (*ibid.* 28), in 390. At the request of the magistrates he prohibits monks from leaving the wilderness (*deserta loca et vastas solitudines*), and in 392 he authorizes their residence in the cities (xvi. 3, 1, 2). Concerning the inequality of his temper, see Zosimus, iv. 51.

³ We have seen that the Priscillianists had been already put to death (p. 307).



CHRIST, ATTENDED BY APOSTLES OR SAINTS (MOSAIC OF ST. VITALIS. RAVENNA, SIXTH CENTURY).



Thessalonica, upon its deep and splendid bay, was, after Constantinople, the greatest and richest city of eastern Illyricum. The praetorian prefect resided there; every day merchants from foreign lands came thither,—by sea from the Hellespont, Asia, and Egypt; by land from the Adriatic, which a great military road, the Via Egnatia, united to the Archipelago. A Gothic gar-



THESSALONICA, VIEW FROM THE SEA.¹

rison, commanded by Botheric, held the city. But the Greeks and Barbarians were not on good terms with one another; the rudeness and ignorance of the latter displeased the refined minds of the Greeks, who were indignant at being obliged to receive as masters those whom formerly they had made their slaves. A charioteer of the circus, a favorite of the people, having been thrown into prison, an outbreak took place, during which Botheric and several of his officers perished. Theodosius had many reasons for loving Thessalonica: he had been baptized there, and there had spent the

¹ Cousinery, *Voyage en Macédoine*, i. 23.

first months of his reign; at other times he had been a resident of the city, and he knew many of its inhabitants personally. However, at news of this riot he ordered his Goths to be avenged by the extermination of the whole population. Ambrose, informed of the resolution which had been taken in the council, pleaded with the Emperor for the pardon of the offenders, and if we may



ATHLETES AND UMPIRE (ASELIUS, CONSTANTIVS, AND ILARUS).²

believe his account of the transaction,¹ obtained it. But the punishment, which was planned like a conspiracy, proves that Theodosius merely freed himself from importunate solicitations by a vague promise of clemency. A festival was announced to the people, who flocked in crowds to the circus. While all eyes were fixed upon the games, the troops quietly surrounded the building, and at a

given signal, making their way in from all sides, fell upon the unarmed multitude. For three hours the work of murder went on; neither women nor children nor old men were spared. A foreign merchant, who perhaps even had not been present in Thessalonica at the time of the riot, gave all his wealth to redeem the life of one of his two sons; while he hesitated in making the terrible choice, the Goths, to whom this massacre was a sport, murdered them both. The number of the dead has been variously estimated from seven to fifteen thousand. Sozomenus asserts that it had been settled how many heads each assassin should bring in, and the price of blood was paid to each accordingly (390).

¹ *Ep.* 51, and *De Obitu Theod.* 34.

² Achille Deville, *Histoire de la verrerie dans l'antiquité*, pl. xxx.

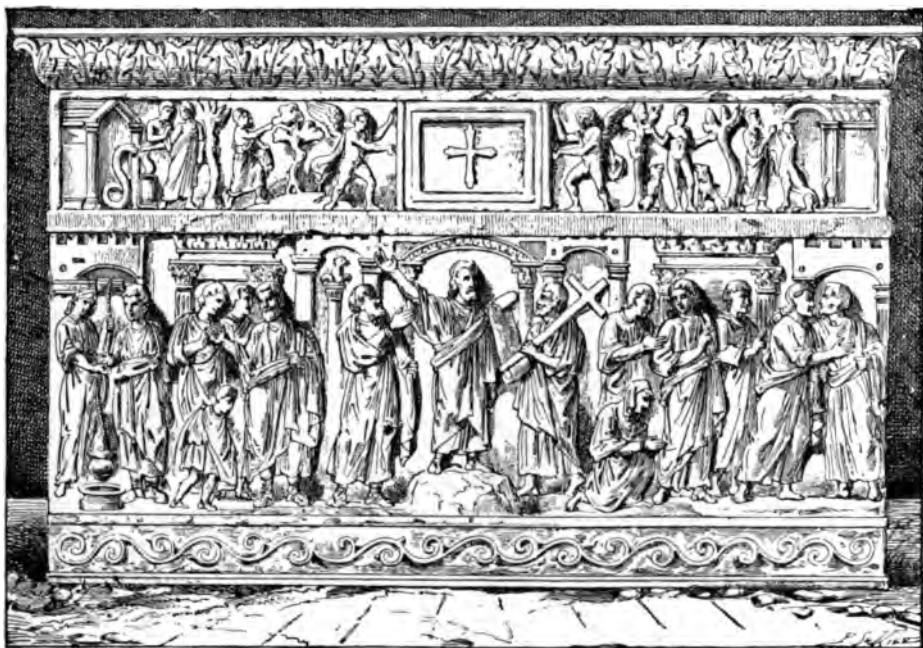
The first time that Theodosius presented himself at the church, after news of this massacre had reached Milan, Ambrose stopped him at the threshold; he reproached the Emperor with his crime, and forbade him access to the holy place, whither none might come who had shed innocent blood. It was nothing less than placing the Emperor outside of the Christian communion. The mighty ruler recoiled before the unarmed priest; and if we may believe the historians of the Church, he remained eight months in his palace, depriving himself of the insignia of imperial power, lamenting and weeping that "the Lord's house, open even to beggars, was closed against him, and with it the gates of heaven also." When it was permitted him to re-enter the cathedral, after this public penitence, he fell upon the ground, and in the presence of all the people implored pardon for his sin, saying to the bishop, in the words of the Psalmist: "Restore to me life, in accordance with thy word!"¹

It is a noble scene; and from that day the Church could exhibit to kings an illustrious instance of the power of remorse and of imperial submission. History has reason, however, to think that in the palace there were not so many tears and groans and lamentations. Theodosius, a zealous Catholic, habituated by the bishop to obedience, accepted the sentence pronounced against him, and abstained from presenting himself at divine worship in the cathedral. But, docile though he was, he was not yet a monk whom the bishops could shut up in a cell, as was Louis le Débonnaire. He continued to exercise the imperial authority, for we have several laws dated in this period, and he did not immure himself in his palace, for three of these laws are dated from Verona. The primitive Church gave absolution to the homicide only upon his death-bed. Saint Basil, as late as the fourth century, required twenty years of penitence. Ambrose abridged this time of trial, which was too long for an Emperor; he fixed the limit at Christmas, 390,—that festival of the Church when Christ seems to be again born upon the earth.

Ambrose in his brave firmness, Theodosius in his humility, had accomplished each of them a memorable act, which raised

¹ Ambrose, *De Obitu Theod.* 34; Theodoret, v. 18; Sozomenus, vii. 24; Rufinus, ii. 18; Augustine, *De Civ. Dei*, v. 26. See Canon Hermant, *op. cit.* pp. 414 *et seq.*

the bishop and abased the Emperor, while it restored him again to his place as a Christian. Since amid the universal servility there was no public opinion capable of preventing or punishing the crimes of rulers, it became necessary that moral authority, which had disappeared from civil society, should be vested in the religious community. It was a new force which came into being, and of which, in the condition of society then existing, history



SARCOPHAGUS AT VERONA. JESUS HEALING THE DEMONIAC.¹

approves. Like all forces, this one was destined to produce, according to the times and the men, good and bad effects, and to gain or lose accordingly; and at last the day came when civil society again recovered all its rights. But in this lamentable end of the old world, and beginning of that age in which brutality of every kind would be let loose, it was a good thing that the human conscience, stifled everywhere else, should have its full sway in the heart of the Church.²

¹ Maffei, *Verona illustrata*, part iii. p. 54.

² The Church historians (Sozomenus, Theodoret, and Rufinus) assert that Ambrose required of Theodosius a law placing an interval of thirty days between sentence and execution. This law — in regard to which there are difficulties (see Hänel, *Ad leg. Codex Theod.*

Socrates, an ecclesiastical historian and a contemporary, is not justified in saying: "The Emperors became masters of the affairs of the Church; they disposed, with absolute power, of the great councils, and still dispose of them at this day."¹ Opposite to this imperial right, to which the religious history of the fourth century testifies, and of which the traces remained until as late as the Council of Constance (1414), rose up the new right which gave the Church a power of correction over the monarch. This was not an unexpected claim; the Church had conceived the idea almost in her earliest days, and, with her principle of existence, she could not fail to have it. Twenty-seven years earlier than the time of which we are speaking, Gregory Nazianzen had had the boldness to reply to an imperial prefect: "The law of Christ makes you subject, like the rest, to my authority and my throne; for we also are kings, we rule an empire higher and more noble than yours, unless it be true that the spirit is inferior to the flesh, and heaven to earth."² Without always practising it, the Church has always honored this religious liberty. In the preface of the mass celebrated for Saint Hilary of Poitiers, it is said: "He was without fear before Caesar;" and at the time of his disagreement with Justina, the Archbishop of Milan gave utterance to language which opened the way to all theocratic claims: "The Emperor is in the Church; he is not above the Church" (*imperator intra Ecclesiam non supra Ecclesiam est*).³ Thirteen centuries later, Bossuet says: "The Church has learned from above to employ kings and emperors that she may the better serve God."⁴

The example of Ambrose was followed. Under the son of

ix. 40, 13, p. 939) — was in any case only the re-enactment and extension of a law of Tiberius which gave to those condemned to death a respite of ten days.

¹ Socrates, *Hist. eccl.* v. 1.

² Gregory, *To the citizens of Nazianzen and to the offended prefect*, — πρὸς τὸν ἄρχοντα ὀργιζόμενον. Καὶ ὁ τοῦ Χριστοῦ νόμος ὑποτίθησιν ὑμᾶς τῇ ἐμῇ δυναστείᾳ καὶ τῷ ἐμῷ βήματι, κ. τ. λ. (*Disc.* xvii. sect. 8, vol. i. p. 271, edit. Billy, anno 373). A few years later Theodoret (*Hist. eccl.* iv. 5, *ad fin.*), attributing to Theodosius words which the Emperor did not speak, makes him say what the Church said later to so many monarchs in the Middle Ages: "Bow the head: ἡμεῖς οἱ τὴν βασιλείαν ἰθύνοντες εἰλικρινῶς αὐτῷ [to the bishop] τὰς ἡμετέρας ὑποκλίνοιμεν κεφαλὰς, καὶ τοὺς παρ' ἐκείνου γενομένους ἐλέγχους . . . ὡς ἱατρικὴν ἀσπαζοίμεθα θεραπείαν." See Vol. VII. p. 411, note 1, and pp. 150 *et seq.* of this volume.

³ Ambrose, *Letter* 21. At the same time, from the very first centuries of the Christian era, liturgic prayers were instituted for the Emperor and the Roman magistrates in all the Christian communities of the Empire (Mangold, *De Ecclesia primaeva*, Bonn, 1881).

⁴ Sermon on the *Unity of the Church*.

Theodosius the Bishop of Ptolemaïs excommunicated the president of the Pentapolis. This governor, guilty of extortion and cruelty, ought to have been punished by the Emperor, but it was the Church that undertook his punishment;¹ and this occurrence, which comes to us accidentally, doubtless was often repeated. The temptation of asserting the Church's supremacy over the civil power was too strong not to prevail in many cases,² and the more the Church gained strength, the more the populations appealed to her to defend their temporal interests. Saint John Chrysostom and Saint Augustine complain that their lives are spent in care for the things of this world. From this twofold principle,—the defence of the weak and the defence of the faith,—which kings and peoples (that is to say, the parties interested) admitted, was later derived for the bishops the right of examining and punishing every act of life which could be considered a sin; and after having made the monarch amenable to her jurisdiction, the Church essayed, that she might the better rule men's souls, to make the civil law subordinate to the law of religion. The two terms of the antagonism are therefore defined, and what the great Arnault calls "the heresy of clerical domination" began. It heralds the events which were to convulse the mediæval period,—the strife between the clergy and the Empire,—a struggle which is not yet ended; witness the *Encyclical* of Gregory XVI., and the *Syllabus* of Pius IX.

The penitence of Theodosius was a good example, but it seems to have done himself little good. Rufinus, the minister whom Ambrose accuses of having advised the massacre, still retained his master's confidence; two years later, upon the disgrace of the prefect Tatianus and his son, natives of Lycia, the Emperor branded all Lycians with infamy, and removed those who held office.³ The wrong done was of less magnitude than in the case of Thessalonica, but the principle

¹ Synesius, *Contra Andronicus*, and *Letters* 129, 132, edit. Druon. This bishop said, however: "God has separated the priesthood and the secular authority;" yet he was obliged to interfere in temporal affairs constantly.

² Socrates (vii. 13–15) says, in referring to the rivalry between Saint Cyril and Orestes, prefect of Egypt, that the encroachments of the bishops upon the jurisdiction of the governors were endless.

³ *Codex Theod.* ix. 38, 9. Tatianus, accused of extortion, was exiled; his son, Proculus, was beheaded (Dec. 6, 392). This prosecution perhaps gave occasion for the law fixing the death-penalty in the case of extortionate officials (*ibid.* ix. 28, 1). Hitherto the penalty had been a fourfold restitution.

was the same, causing the innocent to suffer with the guilty. Also, it would not have been wise to trust too far to the promises of a rescript doubtless suggested to this changeful mind by some sermon. "We forbid any to be punished because they have spoken evil of us or of the present time. If the words are due to levity, let them be despised; if to folly, let it be an object of commiseration; if to malice, let it be forgiven."¹

V.—MURDER OF VALENTINIAN II. (392); ARBOGASTES AND EUGENIUS; PAGAN REACTION; LAST VICTORY AND DEATH OF THEODOSIUS (JAN. 17, 395).

THEODOSIUS remained in Italy three years, — namely, until July, 391, — restoring order in the distracted provinces,² and removing the last traces of official paganism, and even that which was purely private in its character; for example, a constitution of 391 prohibits sacrifices at the expense of individuals, and even the worship of the Lares and Penates.³ He refused a third request from the Roman Senate for the re-establishment of the altar of Victory, and by word and example decided many persons of consequence to believe what their Emperor believed. But while he was an enemy to the old religion regarded as a public institution, he was not so towards those who remained devoted to the faith of their fathers, or did not adopt his own, when he found it useful to require their services. He retained pagans about him, and raised them to the highest offices, — as Arbogastes, commander in the West, and Tatianus, praetorian prefect in the East.⁴ He gave the consulship to Symmachus, the official defender of the old gods at Rome; he rewarded the eulogium of the rhetorician Drepanius by the proconsulship of Africa; and we have no account

¹ *Codex Theod.* ix. 4, 1, anno 393.

² A law of March 11, 391 (*Codex Theod.* iii. 3, 1), restoring liberty to children whom their fathers in extreme want had sold, — Trajan had made a similar law (*Pliny, Ep. x. 72*); a law of July 1, 391, rendering it legal to kill a robber by night (*Codex Theod.* ix. 14, 2), etc.

³ *Ibid.* xvi. 10, 10, and *ibid.*, law 12. (Cf. Vol. IV. p. 130, note 2.)

⁴ The consul Ricohmer, the prefect Flavianus, Albinus, the governor of Antioch in 387, and many others, were pagans.

of any acts of violence in Italy similar to those committed in the East, where the war against the temples continued, with the destruction of the most famous among them, the temple of Serapis, and the pillage of the library of Alexandria.¹ At this time many of the Greek and Roman masterpieces were destroyed.

Theodosius wished to see Rome, the ancient capital of the Roman world; and he entered the city June 13, 389, accompanied by Valentinian II. For the journey he had sent for his son Honorius from Constantinople, to exhibit the boy to the people and the Senate, — doubtless with the secret design of later relegating the docile Valentinian into Gaul, and assigning the prefecture of Italy to Honorius.²

The execution of this plan began after the following winter, which Theodosius passed at Milan with his son and his brother-in-law. When he left Valentinian (July, 391) he advised the latter to go to Trèves to protect that frontier, which during the war with Maximus the Riparian Franks had again ravaged under their chiefs Genobaud, Marcomer, and Sunno. A part of the invaders had been destroyed in a forest between the Sambre and the Scheldt; but the others had escaped with their booty into Germany. Some cohorts had attempted to follow them; but being surprised in a marshy wood, they had nearly all perished.³ It was important that the Emperor should visit this frontier, bringing more troops to it and an able general.

¹ Cf. above, p. 297; Socrates, v. 16, 17; Theodoret, v. 21; and Sozomenus, vii. 15. The pagans of Apameia, whose great temple of Jupiter had been destroyed, revenged themselves by the murder of the bishop of that city. The temples of Petra, of Areopolis upon the Arnon, of Gaza in Palestine, and doubtless many others, remained standing.

² Theodosius remained at Rome until the 1st of September. He dated many laws from that city. We need mention only the one which, renewing a law of Marcus Aurelius, reduced to a hundred and twenty-five the number of consecrated days in the year (*Codex Theod.* ii. 18, 19), and another requiring any person who should discover a magician, to denounce that "enemy of the public safety," with prohibition, under penalty of death, of killing secretly the practisers of witchcraft, lest any should take advantage of this pretext to gratify private hatred. This law and the chapter in which Socrates (v. 18) speaks of certain reforms made at Rome by Theodosius, give a gloomy idea of the state of the public mind in this city, where Christianity was as powerless as philosophy had been to act upon the morals of the people. The Christian community of Rome, like that of Constantinople and of many other cities, was at this time divided between two bishops, the Orthodox Siricius, and the Arian Leontius. The latter obtained from the Emperor the pardon of Symmachus, in disgrace for the moment on account of his eulogy of Maximus (Socrates, *Hist. eccl.* v. 14).

³ . . . *Perturbatis ordinibus caesae legiones.* In this account Sulpicius Severus mentions that the Franks employed poisoned arrows; and the *Salic Law* (tit. xx. 1, 2) speaks of this custom.

This general was the Frank Arbogastes, who in the latter part of the year 392 crossed the Rhine and avenged the recent defeat of the legions, without carrying hostilities too far, since he sought to negotiate rather than to conquer, aiming to secure a lasting peace with the Franks and obtain from them auxiliaries.¹ He had need of peace, and he also required auxiliaries, for he had just accomplished a revolution.

This Arbogastes, the most important person in the Western Empire, had been intrusted by Theodosius with the command of the forces in Gaul; he was master of the army much more truly than Valentinian, and his own people filled all the public offices. What were his designs? Did he aspire to the Empire? This is doubtful, for he did not have himself proclaimed Emperor at a time when he could have done so. Was it to obtain great influence in the government? Undoubtedly; and the feeble sovereign, but twenty years of age, who had been flung hither and thither by a destiny which he could never for a moment control, probably took for his guide this able general, whose talents and fidelity had been manifested under two Emperors. But this was not for the interest of those who surrounded Valentinian. The old soldier, who had one virtue unknown in those days, a contempt for wealth, alarmed them.² He spoke freely to the Emperor of public affairs, and opposed every measure which appeared to him contrary to the interests of the state.³ An influence so great and so undisguised, was intolerable to the courtiers; they persuaded Valentinian that he was a captive in his palace at Vienne, and they urged him to deliver himself from an odious guardian who did not sufficiently respect the fiction of sovereignty exercised by a youth of twenty. Secret messages were even sent to Theodosius, begging him to free his brother-in-law from servitude. The Emperor of the East knew how to regard these boyish or selfish complaints, and did not interpose. The court then resolved to act. When Arbogastes entered the council one day, Valentinian handed to him a rescript depriving him of his office.

¹ Gregory of Tours, ii. 9.

² The plunderings of the courtiers continued. Saint Ambrose (*De Jos.* 7) speaks of the fat kine, shortly to be followed by the lean kine, — referring to the early years of Valentinian II.

³ . . . χρημάτων ὑπεροψίαν . . . πρὸς τὸν βασιλέα παρρησιάζεσθαι, καὶ ὅσα μὴ καλῶς αὐτῷ μηδὲ προσηκόντως ἔχειν ἐδόκει κωλύειν (Zosimus, iv. 53).

The Barbarian blood rushed to the heart of this civilized Frank; he threw the imperial document scornfully upon the ground, crying out that he had been appointed by Theodosius, and by Theodosius only could he be removed. Valentinian, in whom sometimes his father's hot temper manifested itself, snatched a sword from one of his guards to attack Arbogastes. Those present separated the two; but, with the Oriental manners of all these courts, a scene like this meant a sentence of death for one or the other. It was the Emperor who perished; shortly after, he was found hanging from a tree, which gave his death an aspect of suicide (May 15, 392). His body was carried to Milan, and Ambrose, in a funeral oration, certified that heaven had opened to receive him. Valentinian had not yet been baptized, and to theologians, salvation without baptism was impossible; but discourses of this kind permit even a saint to take much license.¹

Arbogastes selected as emperor Eugenius, a Roman, who doubtless had some ability, since the Frank Richomer, on his departure for Constantinople, recommended him.² He was a man of obscure origin, formerly a rhetorician, who had attained sufficient distinction at court to be in correspondence with Saint Ambrose, and to receive from Symmachus the appellation *clarissimus*; it is believed that he was at the head of the imperial chancery.³ He was a Christian—like many in the official world at that time—through policy, and without ardor; Arbogastes, who remained a pagan, had some trouble, however, in persuading him to restore the revenues of the temples, for which the Roman Senate had so often asked, that the new emperor might thus gain the support of those who were not yet ready to adopt the new faith.⁴ Then took place a singular pagan reaction; but it had vitality only at two points,—in the army, which, composed of Barbarians, was Christian neither in ideas nor manners; and in Rome, the city of memories,

¹ *De Obitu Valent.* 51, and *Ep.* 53. Saint Augustine (*De Civ. Dei*) declares that he does not know whether Valentinian was assassinated, or whether he perished by accident. Many accepted the fiction of suicide spread abroad by Arbogastes and his friends. Cf. Rufinus, ii. 31; Sozomenus, vii. 22; Socrates, v. 25.

² Claudian (*IV. consul. Honor.*, verses 67 and 74) calls him "the client and the servant of the exiled Barbarian."

³ Ambrose, *Ep.* 15; Symmachus, iii. 60, 61; Socrates, v. 25.

⁴ Ambrose says (*Ep.* 57) that Eugenius granted it only to the third embassy from the Senate.

where all spoke of the old gods and of the glory with which they had rewarded their worshippers. The image of the invincible Hercules replaced the cross upon the standards, and the Alpine defiles, through which might come an attack, were solemnly placed under the protection of Jupiter, represented by statues holding a



THE INVINCIBLE HERCULES.¹

golden thunderbolt;² *De Jove . . . Latio*, says a wretched contemporary poet, *voluit sperare salutem*. At Rome, where there were more pagans than has usually been supposed,³ the chief of the party was Flavianus, a person of importance, whom Eugenius appointed praetorian prefect. He proclaimed a *justitium* of three months; that is to say, the suspension for that length of time of

¹ The god overpowering the Ceryneian stag with golden horns and brazen feet. The club is on the ground. Bronze group, found in Burgundy in the eighteenth century, 5½ millim. high and 6 in. broad (*Cabinet de France*, No. 3,036).

² Theodoret, v. 24, and Saint Augustine, *De Civ. Dei*, v. 26: . . . *Jovis simulacra nescio quibus ritibus velut consecrata et in Alpibus constituta*.

³ Cf. Henzen, *Bull. de l'Inst. de corresp. arch.*, 1867, p. 174; 1868, p. 90. In his second letter to Valentinian II., Saint Augustine says: [*Romae*] *omnibus in templis arae, sacrificia sua [gentiles] ubique concelebrant*. The same was true in the case of all the great cities. In respect to Africa in the fifth century, see Saint Augustine's letter to Pammachius, sect. 3, and in the *Homilia de Rogationibus* of Saint Avitus, the active opposition which the pagans of Vienne made to that bishop against the institution of a Christian festival in their city.

all business and all judicial proceedings, in order to perform the religious purification of the city according to the ancient rites. He celebrated all the festivals inscribed in the calendar, and himself underwent the bloody baptism of the *taurobolium*, which was to render him pure and holy for twenty years (*viginti mundus in annos*).¹ The statue of Victory, so long expelled from the Senate, returned triumphant.



A VICTORY.³

The Catholics, astonished at this resurrection of the dead, kept silence. "I alone," says Saint Ambrose, "resisted the decree;"² and he did so with a moderation which was not usual to him. He could have had no doubts as to the murderer of Valentinian; but Arbogastes was not the docile Theodosius. In the funeral oration pronounced by Ambrose upon the unfortunate Emperor, there was not a word which could offend the assassin; and while avoiding a personal interview with Eugenius, the bishop wrote to him as to a legitimate Emperor. And, indeed, why

refuse obedience to the soldiers' chosen monarch? The only legitimacy now recognized was that arising from success.

Theodosius, who had hesitated four years about making war upon Maximus, would have hesitated much longer before a renowned general like his new adversary; but that which he perhaps would never have done for the sake of Valentinian, notwithstanding the entreaties of the Empress Galla, he did for religion's sake. For some time Eugenius hoped to win him over. The new Emperor of the West placed the effigy of Theodosius with his own upon his coins; and while the Emperor of the East designated himself consul at Constantinople for the year 393, with one of his officers as

¹ In respect to this last effort of paganism, see the curious and learned monograph of the Chevalier Rossi in the *Bull. di archeol. crist.* vol. vi. (July-August, 1868).

² Ambrose, *Ep.* 57.

³ Bronze statuette in the *Cabinet de France*, No. 3,047.

colleague, Eugenius at Rome inscribed the name of Theodosius with his own in the consular Fasti.

The year 393 was spent by both sides in preparations. Eugenius increased his forces with a great number of Alemanni and Franks. Theodosius called to arms his Goths, and with them Alans, Huns, Iberians, and Saracens. His principal officers were Gaïnas, Saul, Alaric, the Iberian Bacurus, and the Vandal Stilicho, who had married his niece Serena; Timasius is the only one of his generals who has a Roman name. Gildo, a rich and powerful Mauretanian prince, to whom Valentinian had given the government of Africa, refused to recognize Eugenius; but he refused also the aid which



HONORIUS.¹



GOLD MEDALLION OF EUGENIUS.²

Theodosius asked of him. This prince proposed to take Africa for himself in the approaching dismemberment of the Empire.²

Near the end of May, 394, the Emperor quitted Constantinople, leaving behind him his two sons, Arcadius and Honorius,

under the charge of the minister Rufinus; the Empress Galla had just died. He was three months in reaching the Alps. Arbogastes had not seen fit to dispute with him Pannonia, so fatal to Magnentius and to Maximus; he hoped that the Eastern army, fatigued and wasted by the long journey, would arrive in disorder, and he had kept back his army in good condition behind the Julian Alps. These mountains are not a very secure barrier to Italy. Theodosius, coming from Aemona (Laybach), forced the passage easily in a skirmish of the advanced guard, in which Flavianus was killed.

The decisive battle took place, on the 5th of September, in the

¹ Gold medallion, having on the reverse Rome, helmeted, seated, holding a globe and an inverted spear (Cohen, vol. vi. pl. xvii. No. 2).

² Theodosius, to win him over, asked from him the hand of his daughter Salvina for Nebridius, a nephew of the late Empress Flaccilla.

³ D. N. EVGENIVS P. F. AVG., and the Emperor's bust. Reverse: GLORIA ROMANORVM, surrounding Rome and Constantinople personified.

HONORIUS.²

neighborhood of Heidsenschaft, not far from Aquileia, on the banks of the Frigidus (Wipach).¹ The first day ten thousand Goths fell before Arbogastes, and the situation appeared so desperate that the generals of Theodosius urged him to fall back and take time to collect another army. To retreat was to confess himself defeated, and to be so in fact; Theodosius resolved to make one more attempt. During the night Arbogastes sent one of his lieutenants, Arbitrio, to take possession of the hills in the rear of the Eastern army, in order to close the defiles in case the enemy should attempt to retreat, or to attack him in the rear if the action should be begun anew. But the fidelity of the Barbarians was extremely insecure, and Theodosius

had spent a year in collecting in his rich provinces treasure enough

¹ This engagement perhaps occurred at *ad Pyrum*, near Hruschizza, where the lowest defile of the Birnbäumerwald opens. Cf. Von Czörnig, *Das Land Gorz und Gradisca*, p. 162.

² The Emperor, in military dress, holds with one hand the *labarum*, and with the other a globe surmounted by a Victory. Half of the diptych of Aosta, on which Honorius is twice represented (the Abbé Gazzera, *Mémoires de l'Académie de Turin*, vol. xxxviii.).

to place him in a condition to purchase defections. Magnentius and Maximus had both been conquered, it is probable, rather by gold than by iron. Was that method employed in this case? We cannot say with certainty. These bargains are never matters of public notoriety; the effects alone reveal them. Certain it is that Arbitrio passed over to the side of Theodosius, and by so doing relieved him from a great peril. When the battle began in the plain, a violent wind from the mountains wrapped the army of Eugenius in such whirlwinds of dust that they could not see the enemy, all whose arrows, however, fell among them. This was the circumstance which gave the victory to Marius in the battle with the Cimbri, and it now secured the success of Theodosius. Eugenius, seized by his own soldiers, was carried before the conqueror; and while still kneeling to Theodosius and begging for his life, his head was cut off. Two days later Arbogastes, tracked among the mountains, perished by his own hand.¹

Theodosius survived his victory but five months, dying of dropsy of the chest, Jan. 17, 395.² We may here notice that of Constantine's successors, those who escaped a violent death in no instance attained old age. Constantius died at the age of forty-four; Valentinian I. at fifty-four; Theodosius at fifty; and of his two sons, one only lived to be thirty-one, and the other thirty-nine. The lives of the Empresses were also short; the first and second wives of Constantius, the mother and the wife of Julian, Constantina, Flaccilla, Galla, — all died young. It seems to have been a degenerate race. To give it new life, there was need to return to the system of Diocletian, — election according to merit, and not hereditary succession. Theodosius forgot that he had received the purple as the worthiest, and he also failed to remember how fragile are crowns placed upon too youthful heads. But with the establishment of an Oriental court, hereditary right became necessarily the principle of the Byzantine Empire. Theodosius divided the inheritance between his two sons, giving the East to Arcadius, and the West to Honorius. The elder was scarcely eighteen, the younger

¹ Saint Ambrose, in his *Letter* 62, asks from Theodosius pardon for the partisans of Eugenius who had sought an asylum in the Church.

² The Arian Philostorgius (xi. 2) accuses him of having caused his own death by intemperance. Zosimus is sometimes very harsh towards the destroyer of paganism; but among his many reproaches it is possible that some may be well founded.

only ten; and so this sceptre, which would have been heavy even for the strongest hand, was transmitted to boys.¹



ÆLIA FLACCILLA.²

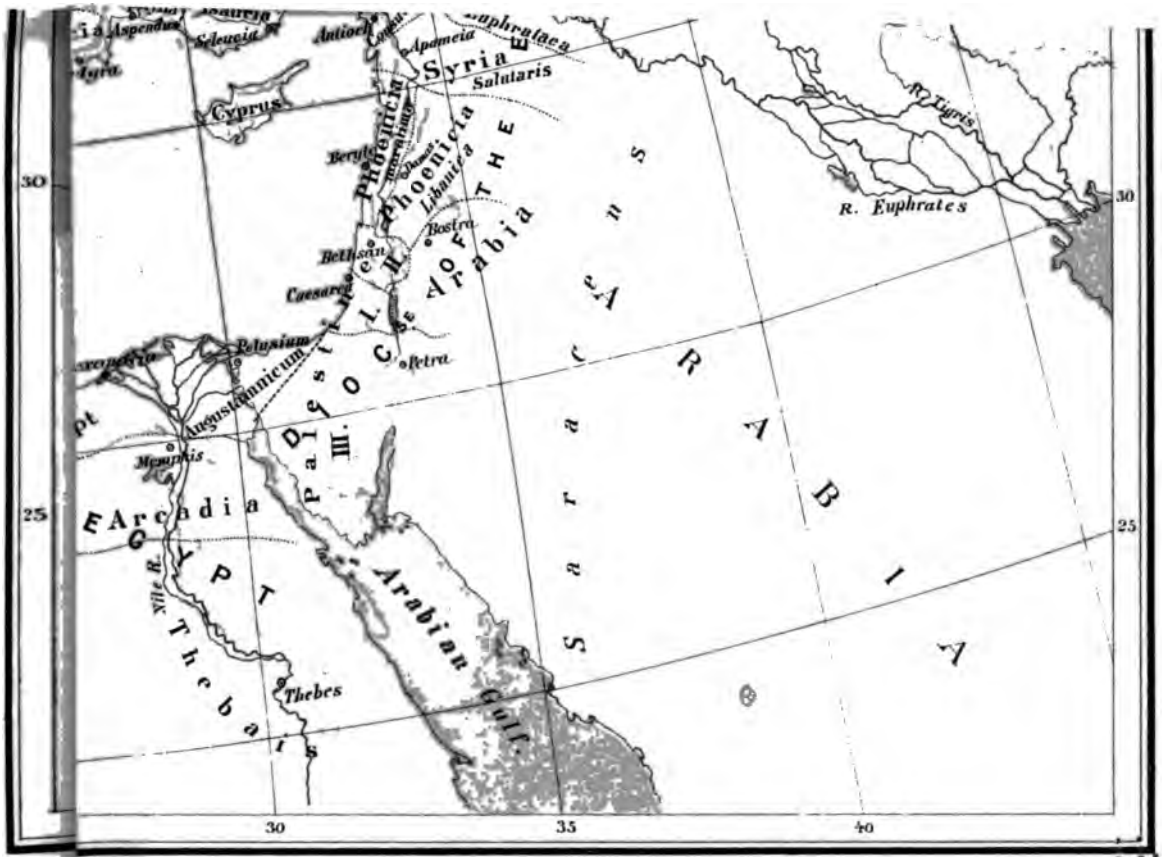
The Catholic Church has given Theodosius the surname of "the Great." He merited it from her, for to her he sacrificed all religious opposition, and he manifested for the bishops a deference which permitted them to enlarge the sphere of their moral action until it included the judgment and the condemnation of the Emperors. History, less generous, sees in Theodosius only an ordinary monarch, inasmuch as he did nothing of importance for the state. He increased the Code by a great number of constitutions, but he did not set the Empire in a better road. All things followed their accustomed path. Possibly it had ceased to be in any man's power to change their course, for a state has its destiny like an individual, and only very powerful hands can arrest it upon the slope to which history has led it.² Theodosius did not seek to do this, he would not have had the strength for it; and the choice which he made in respect to his successors shows his blind confidence in the solidity of the

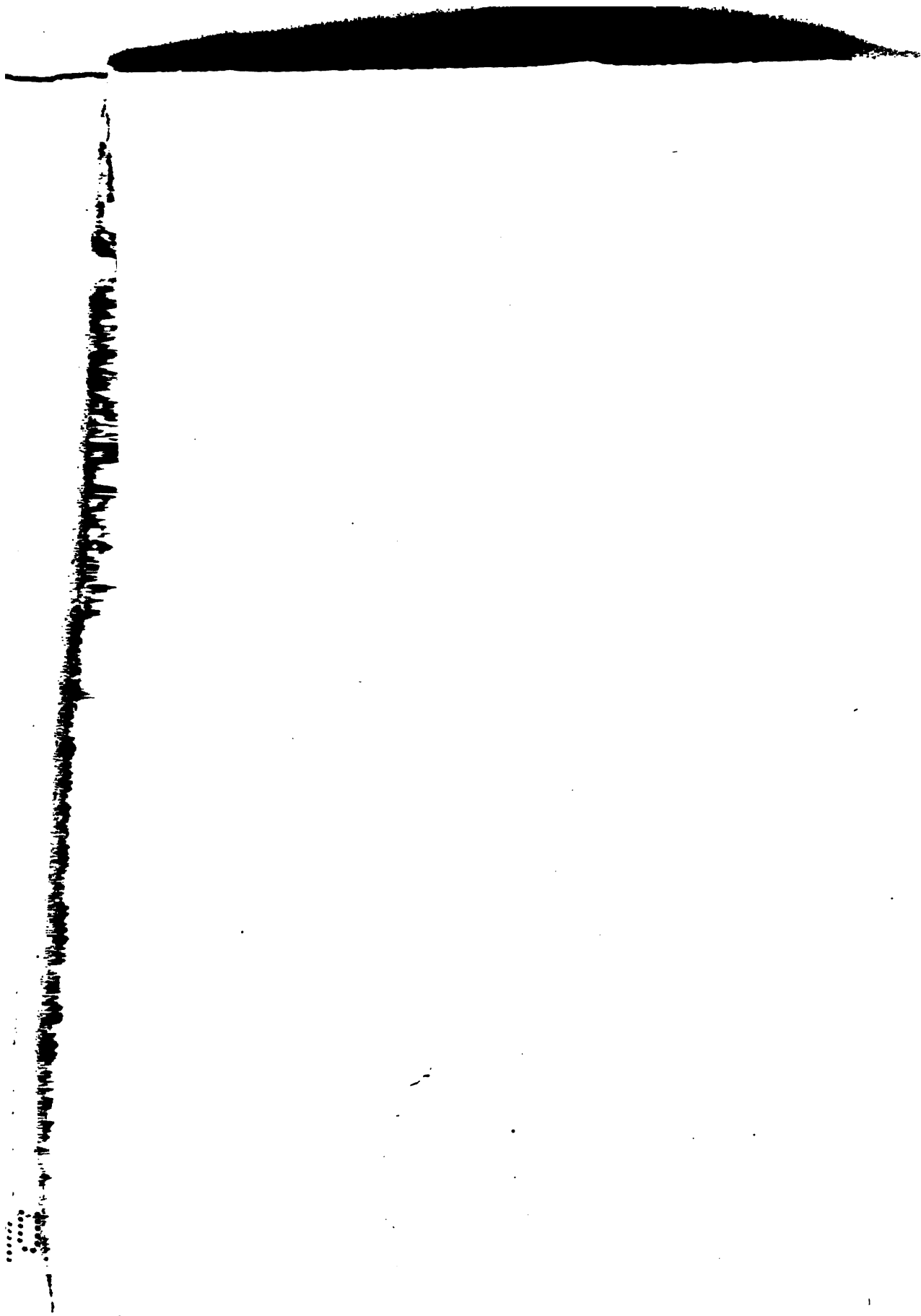
edifice which he committed to his two sons.

¹ Two fervent apologists of Theodosius, Guldenpfenning and Island, in their book *Der Kaiser Theodosius der Grosse*, are obliged to say, p. 238: *Unter Theodosius Regierung, muss man annehmen, herrschte dieselbe Bestechlichkeit, Grausamkeit, Verworfenheit der Beamten, dieselbe zunehmende Entleerung der Curien, dieselbe Verödung fruchtbarer Landstriche und ungesunde Vertheilung von Geld wie früher.*

² Theodosius could not have changed in the few years of his reign the administrative morals of his Empire; but the employment of Barbarians in the Roman army dates chiefly from Constantine and Valens. The old laws as to recruiting were therefore neither forgotten nor abandoned; they were still enforced, but only to draw money from the provincials (see Synesius, *Letter 75*). Instead of employing them to reconstruct a national army, as Synesius, later, urged upon the son of Theodosius, the latter surrounded himself almost exclusively with Barbarians.

³ The Empress Aelia Flaccilla, first wife of Theodosius. Statuette of white marble,





This Emperor's clemency has been extolled. His cruelty was not that of Constantius, who took delight in murders; and yet he entertained the idea of putting to death all the inhabitants of Antioch, he ordered the massacre of Thessalonica, and in abandoning the toleration which had been the rule of Valentinian's reign, he brought distress to many of his subjects, and ruin to cities. That he had a few years of peace after 383, was due to the fact that at this time the court of Ctesiphon was not in a warlike mood, and that the pillage of the European provinces for four years had appeased the savage hunger of the Goths. Had they not, in fact, all that they wished, — a home in fertile lands, pensions for their chiefs, military pay for their soldiers, rank in the Roman army for their best officers? "The friend of the Goths" refused them nothing. The Empire therefore was tranquil, not because it was strong, but because the Barbarians were for the moment satiated. The danger remains: it is even greater than ever before, for the Goths are in the Empire; and this state, which has now no principle of vitality left, which has neither soldiers nor citizens, neither military nor civic virtues, has for its government a venal administration corrupting all things, and for its defenders those who to-morrow will dismember it. The pacific invasion — that of the army and of public offices — has already been made; a few weeks after the death of Theodosius, Alaric, one of his former generals, will begin the armed invasion of the European provinces, while Asia will be ravaged by the Huns, and Africa by the nomads of the desert. "Cyrene," wrote Synesius, "Cyrene, not long ago praised by a thousand poets, is now but a mass of ruins;"¹ and another eyewitness exclaims:² "We see the power and glory of the Empire fallen; Antioch and all the cities bathed by the Halys and the

with a diadem of beads, found in the Island of Cyprus, thirty inches in height. (*Cabinet de France*, No. 3,303.) The resemblance between the face of this figure and the head on the coins of the Empress, justifies its designation.

¹ *On Royalty*, 3. See also his *Letters*, 72-75, 85-87.

² This letter of Saint Jerome, No. 37 of the edition of Dom Roussel, was written in 395 or 396. These Huns, who came by sea, could not have been very numerous; but the inhabitants were destitute of weapons, and the Eastern army was in Italy. Letter 25. to Agerequia, draws a picture of Gaul which is still more sombre, — but this is in 409, after the great invasion; and Saint Augustine, appalled at the spectacle before his eyes, wrote: "Wars are everywhere, — wars between the nations for supremacy, between the sects, Jews, pagans, Christians, and heretics. Everywhere wars, — here on the side of

Cydnus, the Orontes and the Euphrates, have been besieged. Arabia, Phoenicia, Palestine, and Egypt are terror-stricken. . . .



HYPNOS, THE GOD OF SLEEP, SCATTERING POPPIES.¹

The Romans fear, tremble, and succumb before contemptible enemies, and, according to the word of the prophet, a thousand have fled before one."

truth; there, of error" (*Works*, v. 172, edit. of 1577). Letter 39 of Saint Ambrose, which is of much earlier date, shows the devastation of Northern Italy, where only "corpses of cities" are to be seen. M. Villemain ends his admirable work on the Fathers of the fourth century with these words: "The heroic virtues were neglected for monkish self-denials, the country for the cloister, war for controversy. The age of theological splendor was the prelude to barbarism; so true is it that religion, the refuge of the soul, is not an all-sufficient political instrument, and cannot for states take the place of industry and liberty and glory."

¹ This statuette of green bronze, represented here in its actual size, was found at Étampes in 1868 (Collection of M. Danicourt).

Thus the political revolution substituting Barbarians for Romans in one half of the Empire goes on, and the religious revolution is completed. The annulling by Theodosius of the rescript of Eugenius concerning the revenues of the temples marks the end of established paganism, whose place Christianity had long before taken and greatly magnified. Athanasius, Ambrose, Gregory Nazianzen, have made the rights of the Church independent of the State, and sometimes superior to it. A new society is forming, which will have a political and a religious soul, and the two will frequently conflict. The old world, in which this separation had been unknown, is now indeed dead; and there is nothing left for its sad historian to do but to lay the Genius of Rome in the tomb, whose door the Middle Ages will keep sealed for ten centuries.

CHAPTER CX.

GENERAL SUMMARY.

I. — THE MODERN METHOD.

THE old school said of history, *scribitur ad narrandum*, considering it excellent material for eloquent discourse and interesting narrative. The modern historian has a task less brilliant, but perhaps capable of becoming more useful: it is his aim to discover all those local details and characteristics of the time which go to make up the faithful representation of a period, and those general facts which belong to all societies and all ages. He has need of linguistic science for the examination and criticism of texts; of philosophy to interpret facts and ideas; of art, in making use of documents and in giving life to his historic personages. Such is the ideal proposed at the present day; but the basis upon which everything must rest is truth.

For the discovery of truth, the mathematician and the student of natural science have two powerful methods, — deduction and experiment. Like the one, the historian observes; like the other, he draws conclusions, — or rather, he states the conclusions which time has drawn. While he cannot, like the chemist, isolate a fact and reproduce it by multiplied experiments that he may study it under all its aspects and derive from it a law, the world of humanity is for him a vast crucible in which all the phenomena of the life of peoples and individuals are manifested under different conditions of time and place, thus giving him the opportunity to grasp, in the infinite variety of forms, certain permanent laws which are the laws of the human mind.

By this method we arrive, it is true, at no certain forecasts, for history does not repeat itself. While an absolute fatality rules everywhere outside of humanity, the human being bears within him a principle — that of liberty — which, however feeble it may be,

yet makes it impossible to foresee all the consequences of events in the drama where man is the sometimes unconscious actor. History therefore cannot announce what will occur from day to day; but she gathers up as in a great storehouse the universal experience of the race. She invites the statesman to learn from it, and she shows the tie which binds the present to the past, the chastisement to the offence.¹

This historic justice is not always that which reason would anticipate. It sometimes spares the guilty individual, and it even passes over generations; but nations in their collective life never escape it. In their case, sagacity and greatness, folly and decline, are the terms of an equation where the historian is to find the unknown quantity, by discovering the causes which brought about their ruin or their prosperity.

It is always an essential condition in this investigation that we do not forget how small a space in time one generation occupies. The anomalies which shock us if we look from too near a point, disappear when we consider the whole; and then is verified the law which has just been enunciated. It appears that Nature has the most absolute disdain for the individual, and the most far-seeing solicitude for the species. We find in history something of this mysterious law; how many innocent descendants, individuals or communities, have paid the penalty for their guilty ancestors!

Considered thus, history becomes the great book of expiations and rewards; and in pointing out to the nations the close bond of solidarity that unites the past and the future, she can say to them, recalling the Jewish doctrine: "As you do good or ill, you will be rewarded or punished in your posterity to the seventh generation!"

This doctrine of historical responsibility is not new; it was familiar to Polybius. He seems like a contemporary, notwithstanding the twenty centuries which separate him from us, belonging to us as he does by his intelligent curiosity and by the necessity that he feels of understanding everything that he sees and hears. He still further belongs to us by the moral character of his narratives.

¹ Μηδεμίαν έτοιμότεραν είναι τοίς ανθρώποις διόρθωσιν, τής τών προγεγενημένων πράξεων έπιστήμης . . . 'Αληθινωτάτην μὲν είναι παιδείαν και γυμνασίαν πρὸς τὰς πολιτικὰς πράξεις, τήν εκ τής ιστορίας μάθησιν (Polybius, i. 1).

This pagan carried in his conscience "the witness and the formidable accuser"¹ which he wished that all men had in theirs; and hence he had no need of the gods of the multitude. He banished them from history, as our investigators, in building up their sciences, have banished the capricious powers which antiquity and the Middle Ages had placed everywhere. He does not believe in Fortune (that divinity so much adored by the ancients, and not without her worshippers at the present day), nor in Chance or Destiny, — convenient words for weakness and ignorance. His thoughts are in a nobler region. He seeks the motives of human events in human souls, and not in the will of the gods. In his observation, states rise or fall according as they are well or ill governed; and nations, accomplices of the misdeeds committed in their name through the consent they yield to them, are the artificers of their own destinies. It is not, as a famous school asserts, that the strong destroy the weak, it is the weak who destroy themselves, — in the case of the individual by excesses, and in the case of governments by carelessness; and yet the melancholy doctrine that might makes right is often a lie.

Nowhere can the law of solidarity among generations, or the connection of causes and effects, be better grasped than in the history of the Roman domination, beginning at the foot of the Palatine in a child's cradle, and ending by including a world: *orbis Romanus*.

We have related the growth of this prosperity; let us now rapidly enumerate the causes which produced it, and those which destroyed it.

After Bossuet and Montesquieu there would remain nothing more to be said on this subject, were it not that revolutions have taught us to interrogate Rome on questions which could not have occupied the great minds of two hundred years ago. For example, in his *Considérations sur les causes de la grandeur des Romains et de leur décadence*, Montesquieu says nothing in respect to the attempt made by the Gracchi to save the Republic, and his mention of their name is only incidental. To the eyes of the traveller ascending a mountain, the horizon widens, and, without any improvement in his power of vision, he discerns localities whose existence he could not even suspect while in the plain. Time renders the same

¹ Polybius, xviii. 7.

service to history: it gives revelations that it alone can give; and for this reason her work must be often begun anew and enlarged.

II. — GEOGRAPHY.

THE first power that acts upon a people is that of its surroundings, and geography — that is to say, the sum of the physical influences derived from the soil and the climate — explains half its history. A special virtue is even attached to certain places. "Constantinople deserves an empire," Napoleon said; and men think so still. Place Rome at Naples or at Milan, and there would be no Roman history, as there would have been no England had the two shores of the Channel been united.

Between the plains of Latium and those of Etruria, at the foot of the Sabine mountains, stood the city which was to be the mistress of the world, five leagues from the sea, on the bank of the Tiber, the largest of the rivers of peninsular Italy, and upon seven hills, easily to be defended, and above the malarial level. Northward and southward rich lands invited to pillage; the mountaineers dwelling eastward were to render the army invincible, keeping it constantly on the alert by incessant but not formidable attacks. Placed on the edge of three civilizations and three languages, — the Rasena of Etruria, the Ausones of Latium, and the Sabellians of the Apennines, — Rome became, by reason of her situation, the great asylum for all the Italian populations. She was the city of war, for all around her were foreigners and foes; the city "rich in men," of rigid morals and frugal and laborious lives, for her territory gave her nothing except by severe labor, which for six hundred years kept indolence away. Near enough to the sea to know it and have no fear of it, far enough not to be a prey to Greek and Volscian and Etruscan pirates, she was neither Sparta nor Athens, neither exclusively maritime nor exclusively continental. Neighbors to the mountains, to the plains, and to the sea-coast, the Romans, without being shepherds or agricultural laborers or sailors, united these three characters of the Italian races, so that there never existed between them and these populations that opposition in manners and character which

would have prevented the formation in the peninsula of a great state strongly bound together. To each one of her neighbors Rome could, after the battle, show a well-known face and extend a friendly hand.

As Rome was in the centre of Italy, so Italy was in the centre of the ancient world, very much exposed in consequence to attacks from without, but impregnable if it contained a people capable of making it a fortress; and such a people the Romans were. Furthermore, the only enemies to be feared—the Greeks and the Carthaginians—had turned their ambitious designs, the former towards the East, the latter towards the West; and the Gauls in the valley of the Po threatened incursions only, and not permanent conquest, among so many cities surrounded by cyclopean walls. That they came once to the foot of the Capitol was because the Romans were taken unawares; and that day was the only one when the legions yielded to panic. Rome, therefore, had the time, before the great assaults of Pyrrhus and of Hannibal, to subjugate the peninsula and organize it. Thenceforward she had only to designate to her consuls to what point in the world surrounding Italy they should go to seek new subjects for her.

III. — THE PEOPLE.

To geographical influence we must add that which springs from hereditary instincts, if the people belong to the same ethnic group; the traditions which it brings from its various homes, if it be a mixture of many tribes; the reactions of these various elements upon each other, which constitute the national character; and lastly, the historic circumstances—that is to say, the exterior influence—which determine the course of its destiny. Let us apply these rules to the Roman people.

The seven hills were a camp of refuge standing ready. Latins, Sabines, Etruscans, emigrants from every Italian country, hastened to it. How was the blending of these peoples effected? Traditional history states it distinctly; positive history vaguely discerns it amid the darkness of the legendary age. It is, however, during the royal period—which came to an end with the brilliant reign

of a Tuscan who was half Greek, Tarquinius Superbus—that the manners, the religion, and the civil and political institutions of the Roman people assumed definite form. At that time they already had two virtues, which were destined long to remain the basis of their character,—the spirit of order, and the spirit of discipline.

To cause these foreigners—whom Rome had received, willingly or unwillingly—to live in peace, it was necessary for her to determine strictly, by a slow process of interior organization, the relations of the citizens among themselves. This was the original work of the centuriate constitution. To resist the enemies who surrounded her, it was essential for her to recognize the omnipotence of the state, and its right to claim, at need, the courage, the property, and the life of the citizens,—a servitude which was general in Graeco-Latin antiquity, but nowhere, except at Lacedaemon, so strong as it was at Rome. From the time of Servius Tullius the city was an immense fortress, and its population an army always ready to take the field.

The life of this Roman of the early period is severe, frugal, industrious; his religion—that of the peasant stooping over the furrow—is destitute of grandeur, as his mind is without ideality, for the reason that his sole care is to defend himself and to exist. His gods are of a humble class; his prayers concern his own interests; the sacrifices which he offers are a bargain with Heaven. He gives to the gods on condition that they give to him; and he is always ready to say what a pontifex maximus on one occasion said to Jupiter: “If not, not.”

On the field of battle no one equals him in courage and in tenacity; but in every-day life all things terrify him,—the bird which flies past, the mouse running, the unusual noise which he hears. This low-minded superstition, this devotion which cannot soar, and limits itself to the repetition of formulas and rituals which it does not comprehend, takes from him all poetry, all gaiety of heart. He can never dream nor sing, for he has never been young. The Greek, even he who has lived long, is often still a boy of twenty; the Roman is never less than forty years old. Look at the Trasteverini of the present day; they have the same sad gravity, and the same selfish religion.

The early Roman placed the god Terminus at the edge of his

field that the divinity might guard it for him and give to his land a sacred character; therefore woe to him who touched the statue, even in reaping (*Cereri necator*)! Woe also to the poor man who cannot pay his debt! Of this unfortunate the Twelve Tables make a slave; and Valentinian I. punished with death the insolvent debtor to the public treasury, as perhaps the individual creditor in ancient days was allowed to do: *si plus minusve se-*



GODS PLACED ON THE ALTAR OF THE DOMESTIC TEMPLE DISCOVERED AT POMPEII IN 1882.

cuerit, sine fraude esto. For five centuries and more, the Roman writes nothing except dry annals to mark chronology; and he has no curiosity of mind. There is no extensive commerce at this period, although Rome has her seaport Ostia, and has made a treaty with Carthage; there are no journeys made for pleasure or business. Of what goes on beyond her horizon the Roman knows nothing; his field, his vineyard, his harvests, and the care of getting the most for his money, occupy him entirely.



DOMESTIC TEMPLE DISCOVERED AT POMPEII IN 1882.

20

But how well ordered is his life! The same discipline prevails in the family and in the community. In the house the *paterfamilias* is the priest of the gods, and he is the absolute master of his wife, his son, his slaves, as the *patres gentium* are the masters of the republic. In the state he has the position which his birth and his property give him; nothing is left to accident. On days of election or of battle, each man takes his own place in the comitia or in the army, and all have, as citizens, the sentiment of duty which this inexorable discipline imposes. It is because the Romans preserved this sentiment for ages that they became a great people.

Another sentiment plays an important part in their history. The whole community was under the sway of a religion which suffered no important act of public or private life to be performed without consulting the gods. In other lands this disposition of mind would have given birth to a sacerdotal class; but at Rome, as the head of the family was the priest of the house, so the magistrates were the priests of the state; and hence it came about that the established religion, the docile servant of the state, was less a cult than a system of administrative machinery. Rome had therefore neither a clergy, strictly speaking, nor religious instruction, nor spiritual control; the *jus pontificum* was the rule of religious ceremonies, by aid of which men could compel the divinity to assist them. Accordingly, we find in her history no religious wars, nor are there persecutions, — except against secret societies like the Bacchanals, whose proceedings were criminal in their character, or against Christian communities, whose doctrines were the absolute negation of the state cult and the renunciation of all civic duties.

This faith in the continual interposition of Heaven in their affairs had for the Romans another effect: the gods being the givers of victory, the consul, although he had the honor of success, was not responsible for defeat. Carthage sent her unlucky generals to execution: nor was this always an act of injustice. The Roman Senate went out to meet Varro, whom the gods had vanquished. Relieved from all anxiety as to the results of a rash expedition, the consuls were more daring; and this audacity, which alarmed nations and kings, enabled Rome to obtain great results

with a small expenditure of force,—as when, for example, two legions were enough to drive the Macedonians from Greece, and Antiochus from Asia Minor.

IV. — THE CONSTITUTION BEFORE THE PUNIC WARS.

THE diverse elements which composed the Roman population combined at first in a manner to form two peoples absolutely distinct, —patricians and plebeians. The patricians were: 1, the descendants of those who had founded the city; and 2, those whom they had admitted, voluntarily or under compulsion, to share these rights. They owned the land which their clients and their slaves cultivated. Their chiefs, assembled in the Senate, deliberated on public affairs; and they all, assembled in the curia, appointed the magistrates and voted upon the laws. It cannot be said that the patricians formed a nobility, an aristocratic body; they were, alone, the Roman state.

Beneath them, excluded from the political city, were the descendants of the early occupants whom they had dispossessed; foreigners who had come to Rome to seek an asylum or the means of support; the conquered on fields of battle who had been brought hither after the destruction of their own homes,—all, in a word, whom Rome either attracted or held by force, and whom the patricians had not received into their *gentes*.

Such a duality was dangerous. A wise ruler, Servius Tullius, attempted to unite these two peoples, by substituting, as the principle of social organization, the consideration of fortune, instead of that of birth or origin. The citizens were divided, according to their property, into classes and centuries, in a manner to give the rich the majority of votes in the comitia, and, in the army, the better equipment and the more important posts. From this it resulted that in the assemblies the majority was always made up before the poor were called to vote, and in respect to the army, that those citizens who had no guarantees to offer the state, in leaving some property behind them in the city, were excluded from the ranks. Those who, without being rich, were not absolutely destitute of property, had lighter weapons, armor that was less expen-

sive, but also less defensive, and military duty of an inferior order, where there was no opportunity to gain distinction. The constitution of Servius Tullius did not then bring the plebeians into power; for the soil — the sole wealth of that day — remained for the most part in the possession of the patricians, and the new assembly could commit no acts of rashness, restrained as it was by legislative prescriptions and old usages made sacred by religion. Was a resolution under discussion, the magistrate spoke last, — it was the defence coming after the attack, and reducing its power. In voting, the *seniores*, much less numerous than the *juniores*, had the same number of votes with the latter, so that wisdom tempered inexperience. In elections the presiding officer received votes only for the candidates whom he had presented, and whose election had been judged by the senators useful to the state, and by the augurs agreeable to the gods. If the election seemed to be going the wrong way, some alarming presage occurred; in case of need, Jupiter thundered, or the pontiffs — if no one else — saw a flash of lightning. Or, finally, if the choice had fallen upon a person displeasing to the patricians, the curia had the right to refuse him the *imperium*; that is to say, the necessary authority for the exercise of his office. The election was, in fact, a *co-optatio* which the assembly merely ratified.

The laws of Servius left indelible traces upon Rome. To the latest hour of the Empire she favored, as to the exercise of power, the nobles; but also, and above all, the rich. Even when the plebeians had invaded every office, the constitution still preserved an aristocratic character which gave room for prudence in plans and perseverance in their execution. With these qualities a government does great things, and such the Senate did.

Numerous as were the restrictions placed upon liberty as we understand it, the so-called Servian constitution attained its end; the two peoples were henceforth one, divided into two classes, — patricians and plebeians, the rich and the poor. It was even liberal; for though no man can change his origin, it is possible for him to increase his fortune, and in acquiring the necessary *census*, the Roman rose to higher rank. This is the first manifestation of that wisdom which gave a place in the state, first, to the plebeians; then, to the allies; later, to provincials, and even to freedmen.

The edict of Caracalla, granting citizenship to all the inhabitants of the Empire, was only the final act in a policy inaugurated eight centuries earlier.

The Roman people appears, with the principal organs of its social life, only after the expulsion of the kings and the establishment of a republic. The revolution had been made by and for the patricians; accordingly, in the new institutions everything was calculated to prevent the return of a master. Instead of a king ruling for life, were substituted two consuls annually elected, who must in all cases be of patrician race.

Invested with equal powers, the two consuls balanced each other, for either had the right to arrest the acts of his colleague by the simple declaration that he opposed them. This right of *intercessio* and the brief duration of the magistracy rendered usurpation so difficult that for more than four centuries it was never seen. As a last resource against danger which might menace the state or the constitution, the Senate re-established a temporary and absolute royalty, the dictatorship; but its legal duration was limited to six months, and, in fact, until the time of Sylla, it usually lasted but a few days. The dictator alone excepted, Rome had no single magistrate. All the offices had many incumbents at once; the censorship, the consulship, the praetorship, the offices of aedile and of tribune, and the priesthoods, formed so many *collegia*, in order that the application of the *intercessio* might be always possible. This latter principle entered so profoundly into Roman policy that it was extended to the colonies, where a right of veto was exercised by the magistrate of equal or superior rank (*par majorve potestas*). The *provocatio*, or right of appeal to an assembly of the people, was for the citizens another and powerful guarantee.

In possession of the consulship and the dictatorship, being the religious, military, and judicial heads of the nation, and having, by the Senate and the centuriate assembly, the control of public policy and of legislation, the nobles, after the expulsion of Tarquin, became the actual masters of Rome. This government by the patriciate was the first form of the Roman republic;¹ the second will appear when

¹ A few plebeians were admitted to the Senate in 509 B. C., probably under the right of the *gentes*, which gave admission, at about that time, to the Sabine Atta Clausus (Appius Claudius); others entered the Senate after having held the consular tribuneship; but until 367 B. C. that assembly preserved its patrician character.

the plebeians are admitted to public office; the third, after the great conquests which favored the return of an oligarchy.

Upon the establishment of the republic the patricians had reason to feel that their position was impregnable. War rendered it insecure. The dominion reared by Tarquin fell to pieces after his exile. The subjects and allies of Rome under the kings became the enemies of republican Rome. In order to make a stand against Tarquin and Porsenna and the confederated Latins, the aristocracy had need of the plebeians. The latter did not refuse to come to the defence of the patriciate, but they obliged it to pay them for their assistance, by wresting from it the right to have rulers of their own choosing, the tribunes of the people. Of all the Roman revolutions this was the humblest in its beginnings, and the most important in its effects.

Servius divided the Roman territory into thirty districts or tribes. The inhabitants of these, thirty *regiones*, united by common interests, held assemblies which the new popular leaders organized; and these *comitia tributa* finally became strong enough to obtain from the Senate the recognition of a legislative power, — namely, the right of voting the *plebiscita*. The voting was *per capita* in this assembly, the majority making the law, while wealth made it in the *centuriata*. The interior history of Rome is the story of the struggle between these two assemblies, which at last were united into one. On both sides this warfare, characterized by no extreme violence, was conducted with great ability: on the part of the tribunes there were persevering efforts and legitimate demands; on the part of their adversaries, an able resistance, which yielded at the right moment when there arose danger that some sudden revolution might sweep everything before it. Slowly and one by one, the Senate abandons its privileges; it even opens, imperceptibly, the gates of the patrician fortress, to admit a few of the popular chiefs, and by these concessions strengthens rather than enfeebles the aristocratic body. New blood is infused into it; its policy becomes more sagacious; and the classes are brought nearer each other, the people losing none of their respect for this aristocracy, which, while they oppose it, they honor still, because they see in it the pontiffs specially beloved of the gods, the military leaders who fight always under favorable auspices, and

the guardians of the good old customs (*mos majorum*), that were a second religion to Rome. Like a disciplined army, formidable even in its defeat, the nobles fell back step by step as the plebeians advanced, and they again made a stand in a position whence they were long able to bid defiance to the attacking force. Progress and conservatism are the two poles between which this history oscillates. Domestic dissensions, in turn stimulated and restrained by the two factions, the popular and the aristocratic, never reduced the country to becoming an easy prey to a foreign foe; and they served as a political education for the people, who, fortunately for themselves, were not suddenly precipitated into victory.

The successive epochs of this long campaign, wherein was trained the Roman people in its sturdy youth, are marked by the promulgation of a written law, and by the authorization of marriages between the two orders,—or civil equality; by the creation of the tribuneship, the political organization of the tribes, and the admission of the plebeians to all curule offices,—or political equality; and lastly, by the sharing of the priestly offices,—or religious equality. The advantage even was on the plebeian side, for the patricians could never be tribunes of the people or plebeian aediles.

These political conquests fell, as spoils of war, for the most part to the share of the men who had so ably conducted the popular campaign: their sons married into patrician families, and they themselves obtained seats in the Senate by the side of the descendants of the gods; but the people themselves also obtained some advantages. The eternal problem of poverty agitated Rome, as it convulses our modern communities; in their claims the tribunes had included those interests whence social questions arise. The institution of the soldier's pay, and the sending out of colonies into conquered lands, diminished poverty; the laws in respect to usury, and the seizure of the person, protected debtors; and the Agrarian Law, which for a time prevented the occupation of the *ager publicus* by the nobles, left lands to the plebeians for pasturage and tillage. There was therefore in the state more justice and less poverty; and the circle whence the state drew those whose services it accepted, became larger, so that every man signalized by his merit could enter it. At the close of

this long work of social ameliorations which was the triumph of good sense applied with perseverance to public affairs, the two orders were reconciled, the distance between rich and poor was lessened, and the Roman territory was covered with petty land-owners, who in the *comitia centuriata* counterbalanced the votes of the nobles, and carried into the *comitia tributa* the wisdom, short of range, but positive, of the peasant, whose hard hand, on days of assembly, the patrician grasped. Protected in his liberty by the *provocatio*, the right of appeal, and the abolition of preventive detention; in his dignity by the abolition of corporal chastisement, the inviolability of the dwelling, and by religious freedom and political equality,—the citizen was ready to make any sacrifice for a city which secured to him advantages so precious. For more than a hundred years peace reigned in the Forum, and tremendous blows could be delivered against the foreign foe. This was the golden age of the republic.

V.—THE ARMY AND CONQUEST.

THE magistrates were of annual election at Rome; each one in his turn was eager to celebrate his period of office by some military exploit which would give him a triumph, and the citizens gathered gladly about the standards, in the hope that the expedition would give them either rich spoils, which were shared with religious fidelity, or else fertile lands abandoned by the conquered enemy. The city being surrounded by plunderers, occasions were not lacking; and each year, when the corn was ripe, the Romans were called upon to defend their own harvests, or else to carry off those of the enemy. To the Aequi, the Sabines, the Volsci, this predatory warfare taught nothing; the Romans, a serious and reflective people, learned continual lessons from it. As they had borrowed from one neighboring nation its gods and its religious rites, and from another its festivals, its sacerdotal colleges, and the insignia of its magistrates, so the Romans copied the Sabine shield and the Samnite weapons, and, making a study of the art of war, they devised an admirable instrument of warfare: namely, the legion. None of the military organizations of anti-

quity, neither the army of Sparta nor that of Athens, neither the sacred battalion of Epaminondas nor the Macedonian phalanx, is comparable to this flexible and vigorous body, equally adapted to rapid movements and to attack *en masse*, which, every night, in an enemy's country, surrounded itself by an intrenched camp, and by day marched at the rate of nearly four miles an hour, the soldier carrying his weapons, five days' rations, and his intrenching tools. Composed of the very best of the population, the legion admitted neither the foreigner, nor the freedman, nor the *proletarius*; it received pay, and therefore could make long campaigns, and the standards were its gods (*numina legionis*). "Some divinity," says Vegetius, "gave the Romans the legion." But the gods were never so gracious. The same spirit which had constituted the state organized the military service: the legion was the city under arms. Two things made its strength: it received only vigorous men, trained in all military exercises, ready for any kind of labor; and the noblest Roman could not fill any office in the state till he had made ten campaigns.

The expulsion of the kings had cost Rome a third of her territory and all her allies. A hundred and sixty-five years of warfare was needed before she could regain the frontiers that she had lost. Very slowly then did she recover herself; but it is a slow growth that attains durable greatness. In these long wars she acquired the military and political virtues which, later, placed the world at her feet.

The struggle against the Samnites, in which Italy lost her liberty, took eighty years more, every year of which was marked by heroic devotion or cruel sacrifices for the strengthening of discipline. This is the period of dictators taken from the plough, of consuls who receive seven acres of land as the recompense accompanying a triumph, and in which the Senate replies to the ambassadors of victorious Pyrrhus: "Let him first leave Italy; after that we will talk of negotiations." This Senate, so haughty in defeat, after a victory is the wisest of conquerors. In the organization which Rome gave to the Italian peninsula, is revealed a political sagacity which, existing up to the time of the first Emperors, held a multitude of nations united, without regrets, under the sway of a single city.

We find the reason in this: the city of Rome possessed the most difficult of all virtues, — moderation in victory. Sparta, Athens, Carthage, who never forgot their municipal pride, were never anything more than cities; Rome, which often forgot it, became an empire. With the same sagacity that had opened the patrician citadel to the plebeians, she opened her gates to the conquered, and conferred her citizenship upon some of them, so that defeat brought them up to a level with their conquerors, — a new example in that harsh world of old days. But, also, she had then thirty-five tribes, extending from the Ciminian Forest to the centre of Campania, and in this vast territory her censors counted three hundred thousand citizens who were trained soldiers. She was already the greatest power in the West; and this empire stood by its own strength, without an oppressive administration or burdensome taxes.

To the Italians not included in the Roman tribes she made, by favors or severities, unequal conditions, that they might thus be prevented from coming to an understanding with one another for any concerted action. In order to have around her vigilant sentinels, and ramparts which must be forced before she herself was reached, she placed among these Italian communities seventy colonies to watch and control them (*specula et propugnaculum*); and she connected these fortresses with one another by military roads, which her soldiers, unwearied on the march, traversed with great rapidity. And lastly, inasmuch as she had in almost all cases respected the gods, the laws, and the municipal autonomy of these conquered peoples, they willingly became her allies, and in cases of common peril were ready to serve at the side of her own legions. Thus in 225 B. C., when a formidable Gallic invasion threatened Italy, seven hundred and seventy thousand men took up arms to prevent it. No power in the world at that time had any such military force.

Bossuet, who had so little confidence in human wisdom, marvels at these results of political sagacity: "Of all nations of the world," he says, "the proudest and boldest, but withal the most settled in its counsels, the most constant to its maxims, the most circumspect, the most laborious, and, lastly, the most patient, was the Roman people. Hence her army was the best, and her

policy the most far-seeing, firm, and consistent that has ever been known."

Pyrrhus caused the Romans alarm; but he was only an adventurer, while the Romans were a people. He ran incessantly from one enterprise to another, while the Senate followed one design persistently; between them the game was not played on equal terms.

Between Carthage and Rome it appeared to be so. And yet that queen of the Mediterranean had not been able to complete the subjection of Syracuse; and her empire, stretching along an immense sea-coast, but having very little depth, and easily to be cut at any point, was a badly constructed state, and difficult to defend, because to the party divisions in the city was added the hatred of the subjects in the provinces. How different from Rome, where all classes were at this time united in one thought; where the conquered nations had been transformed into allies; and where the city herself, placed in the centre of her territory, was protected by many concentric lines of fortresses guarded by her armed colonists! By a bold push, it is true, the enemy once came within sight of her walls; but the incident caused not one defection among all her partisans. Within this formidable circle Pyrrhus, and even Hannibal himself, held nothing more than the space their camps covered from day to day; and sometimes, even, they were forced to abandon the encampment in all haste before it was completed. The strength of Rome was in the geographical construction of her empire, in the liberal policy that she followed as soon as the work of war was ended, and in the close bonds which united all parts of the state,—a homogeneous mass difficult to break, and sure, in a collision, to destroy whatever ventured to dash against it.

Thanks to the son of Hamilcar, Carthage for a moment seemed to be victorious; and there is not in history a grander spectacle than this duel between a great man and a great people. The Roman tenacity triumphed over the genius of Hannibal. Carthage, the mercantile city without art, without literature, gathering in the wealth of the nations and giving them nothing in return, could not, with her mercenaries serving her for gold, triumph over these armies of citizens fighting for their country and for themselves.

Ought we to regret this? Carthage being destroyed, there was one less trading-house in the world; Rome overthrown would have been the inheritance of Greece wasted, the second classic civilization lost, and the West for centuries abandoned to barbarism.

After the Punic wars, the conquest of Greece and part of Asia was but a trifle; for Greece was depopulated, and Asia had only multitudes, not men. Rome needed but to touch with her finger these worm-eaten monarchies, and they fell in ruins; she employed towards them, however, a false and treacherous policy not befitting her strength, and not necessary in the case. Macedon alone, behind its hills, made a serious resistance; the country of Alexander perished with honor at Pydna; and the fate of Perseus and of Jugurtha, the insolence of Roman triumphs, the hundred and fifty thousand Epirotes sold as slaves, made kings tremble upon their thrones, and peoples behind the walls of their cities. That Mithridates for a moment shook the Roman dominion in Asia and in Greece, was due to the fact that Rome was then expiating in a civil war her too brilliant fortune and the scandalous excesses of her proconsuls.

VI. — RESULTS OF THE CONQUEST OF THE WORLD; THE RULE OF AN OLIGARCHY.

AFTER the fall of Carthage and of Macedon, the Romans possessed an empire; but they no longer had the manners, the religion, and the institutions which had founded that empire. They had become enamoured of the arts, the literature, and the philosophy of Greece; and dying Greece avenged herself for her defeat by imparting to them the corruption which had disgraced her old age.

In the East — where for centuries commerce and industry had been heaping up enormous wealth, which victory now gave into the hands of the conquerors — the proconsuls lost the moderation which had characterized their fathers. Returning to Rome with the spoils of the provinces, they displayed there a royal luxury, vices hitherto unknown, and a contempt for all that was beneath them. These rough Romans, who had lived so long without agitating any one of the great problems, dazzled by the splendor of Greek civilization,

now set themselves to learn from that philosophy, which at the moment was accomplishing a destructive work in respect to the national religions. It became the fashion with the Roman noble to read Ennius, the translator of Euhemerus, and to applaud Pacuvius or the fiery Lucilius scoffing at the aruspices or at the twelve great gods. The people did not go so far as this; but they went elsewhere, — namely, to the gods of the East, who one after another were received into Rome, and gained there a popularity fatal to the old divinities of the Republic. Thus one of the foundations of Roman society crumbled away; and shortly after another was also destroyed.

The middle class of petty land-owners, the class which had made the strength of Rome and her liberty, wasted by so many wars, was now disappearing. A fatal gap, therefore, existed in the state between the nobles, to whom the pillage of the world had given royal wealth, and the poor, who, recruited in their numbers by enfranchised captives, had nothing left of the early days, — neither sentiments, nor memories, nor habits of industry, and respect for the laws. As after Charlemagne's great wars there were left no free men in the empire of the Franks, but only lords and vassals and serfs, so at Rome, after the conquest of Africa, Greece, and Asia, there were only nobles and clients and proletarii, with an immense number of serfs, — a single citizen possessing twenty thousand of them. Now, it is a law of history that a middle class cannot exist in states where slavery prevails to a great extent. This class had been the ballast which held the ship steady; it being lost, everything became insecure.

The army had changed as well as the people, — not in its organization, but in its spirit. Since the soldier was obliged to follow his general into remote provinces, and remain there ten or twenty years, the military service ceased to be a patriotic duty, and became a trade; instead of citizens in arms, there were mercenaries. And so it becomes easy for those who wish to overthrow the new order to find in the hungry crowd that fills the city the tools of sedition; and their mercenary legions gave the generals the means of throwing the state into confusion. In the last century of the Republic we see the soldiers of Marius and of Sylla, of Pompey and of Caesar, but no longer the army of Rome.

The constitution also was modified, although it appeared to

remain in its ancient form. The Senate had naturally taken possession of the government of this vast empire, which could not be ruled by a popular assembly. Empowered to treat with kings and nations, to assign the command of armies and provinces, to determine the amount of tribute that conquered nations should pay and the manner in which it should be employed, the Senate held as high a position in public estimation as in its own; and an ancient Roman jurisconsult speaks thus: "As it was difficult to assemble the people, of necessity the care of the state passed to the Senate, and all which it decreed was obeyed."

This assembly, which the force of circumstances had rendered so powerful, became the citadel whence a new nobility, resulting from the union of the patriciate with the great plebeian families, dominated the state. The nobles had now no longer to dread the political opposition of the tribunes, or the popular justice of the comitia; they filled all judicial positions, and they had annulled the tribuneship in causing themselves to be elected to that office by their clients, who were now substituted in the Forum for that middle class which had ceased to exist. They had thus invaded everything, — all military and civil commands, access to which they denied to the new men; the public lands, which the connivance of the censors gave up to them; small estates, wrested by force or bought at trivial prices from their ruined owners; and they were heaping up those colossal fortunes which later they tortured their ingenuity to expend in monstrous amusements and an insane extravagance in building: *pecuniam trahunt, vexant*.

Rome now found herself subjected to an oligarchy, which was the third form that the republican government assumed. The history of this new aristocracy is marked by the exactions of Verres and Appius; by the revolt of the Italians, the slaves, and the provincials; by civil war, proscriptions, and the overthrow of private fortunes; and finally, as a last disgrace, it became necessary to call out all the military strength of the Roman people against pirates and gladiators. Even the sagacious policy of the early Senate for the extension of the Roman community was abandoned. The Italians obtained citizenship only after a sanguinary conflict. and up to the time of Caesar two Italian regions, Sicily and the Transpadane, had not yet obtained it.

Beneath this nobility, whom Sallust calls "the faction of the great," and above the disinherited crowd, appeared an element which was entirely new at Rome, money-handlers. The Senate farmed out the taxes and the public works. Men who came from shops and counting-houses, constructors and army-contractors, and members of the equestrian order whom the Senate jealously excluded from public honors, formed themselves into companies, which sent their agents throughout the provinces collecting the taxes; these were the publicans. Interfered with in their speculations by the civil war, this was the class that aided Julius Caesar and Octavius in re-establishing order in the state, and security in business transactions.

VII. — THE GRACCHI AND THE NEW POPULAR PARTY.

IN the middle of the second century before the Christian era there existed no longer, to speak truly, a Roman republic or a Roman people. Good and patriotic men strove to reconstitute both: to restore liberty by reducing the power of the oligarchy; to reconstruct a middle class by distributing among the poor the public lands of which the oligarchy had wrongfully obtained possession; and to heal the plague of pauperism by requiring land-owners to employ on their estates free laborers instead of slaves: and with the Roman theory of the rights of the state, all these reforms were possible. To the Gracchi belongs the honor of attempting the regeneration of the people by ownership of land and by labor, without taking from the rich anything which was legally theirs. The two brothers were killed, their friends murdered, their laws abolished; the peaceful reform failed, and the era of revolutions began.

The Gracchi were not, however, demagogues; they belonged to the best nobility, and for their friends and advisers they had had some of the most respected persons in the state. In the midst of the oligarchy there were—as there have always been in England—families who had been for many generations pledged to the defence of the popular interests; and there were the ambitious men,—whom every age and every nation produces,—who,

despairing of the attainment of their ends with the support of the nobles, sought advancement by the aid of the people. The former, seeing the provincials oppressed, the Italians dissatisfied, the mass of the citizens reduced to poverty, and the military strength of Rome impaired by the lessened number of those legally liable to be called into the service, feared not only the loss of liberty, but the loss of empire. The latter regarded this twofold danger with anxiety, perhaps; but, in addition to this, they desired to play in the state the part which they believed due to their merit, and to obtain a share of the honors and the profits which were refused to them. The formation of the oligarchy had had, then, as its inevitable consequence, the reconstruction of a democratic party, with nobles at its head as leaders; and the Gracchi, in restoring to the tribuneship its early vigor, had shown what weapons could be employed for the new conflict. After their time there was always on the tribunes' bench an heir, if not of their political views, at least of their factious power to act upon the masses of the poor or of the Italians.

A man who had been a client of the Metelli, and was later the conqueror of the Cimbri, avenged the Gracchi upon the sons of their murderers. To the proscriptions of Marius, decimating the nobility, those of Sylla, who believed he had destroyed the popular party, were the reply. But the crowd cannot be killed, still less can justice be annihilated. The dictatorship of Sylla, his murders, his laws, could not silence the question which rapacious men, and not only they, but honest men also, asked themselves: Why should a small minority of citizens enjoy alone the profits of a conquest which all had shed their blood to obtain? Why should consulships and praetorships and lucrative governments and triumphs be the hereditary patrimony of certain houses? Why, finally, should the upward movement, which, to the great advantage of the state, had carried so high the virtue, the courage, and the sagacity produced on lower levels, be now arrested? When these ideas become topics of conversation, a revolution is at hand. And it was the more certain since the feeble followers of Sylla, having retained of his political spirit no trait except his contempt for human life, made no secret of their resolution to make an end, as he had sought to do, of the popular party by murder.

VIII. — CAESAR.

THAT which votes had not been able to do, the sword accomplished; the soldiers took the place of the people, and generals were the successors of the tribunes. Three of the most famous of these, kept in the background by the nobility, or feeling themselves insufficiently recompensed for their services, made common cause of their displeasure or their ambition to overthrow the oligarchical government which, detested by the people, had just now alienated from itself the equestrian order by refusing a needed modification in the contracts subscribed by the publicans. Caesar, elevated to the consulship by a coalition of all the adversaries of the party of the nobles, proposed laws of extreme importance: to the poor, a distribution of the public lands, and if these were not enough, freeholds bought with the wealth taken from Mithridates and Tigranes; to the provincials, valid guarantees of an upright administration; towards dishonest officials, severities sufficient to intimidate them; and, as to the publicans, a diminution of a third in the taxes of the province of Asia, which had been ruined by the recent wars. We have here the spirit of the Gracchi animating a man of genius. Three of these measures were excellent reforms needed by the people and by the state; the fourth was an act perhaps of self-interest, but also of justice. The Senate, not unreasonably, regarded them all as directed against itself, and opposed them. The popular assembly voted them, and rewarded their author by the brilliant but difficult mission of arresting a formidable Germanic invasion of Gaul.

While Caesar was gaining, on the other side of the Alps, the renown of the greatest of Roman generals, another of the triumvirs, Crassus, lost his life through his own folly in a war with the Parthians; and the third, Pompey, offended at the increasing fame of the conqueror, went over to the oligarchy. The situation was simplified, the contest being now not so much between two parties as between two men: Pompey becoming the head of the faction of the nobles, and Caesar remaining the representative of

the popular interests; and both, for very different reasons, resolved to hold the first rank in the state.

The one, remarkable for his vanity, having no other political idea than his own personal aggrandizement, had served all parties; and after having aided in destroying the aristocratic constitution established by Sylla, he now returned to those whom he had disarmed. To display in Rome the toga of the triumph sufficed to this barren pride. The other, no less ambitious, but with a nobler ambition, sought supreme authority in order to rule, and also in order to act. He perceived that a century of civil wars and murders had brought about an extreme need of repose and security. The people being unable to govern in their comitia this vast empire, and the oligarchy governing it badly, there remained but one solution of the problem; namely, a republican monarchy, whose head should bring back the policy of the early tribunes for the protection of the people, and the wisdom of the early Senate for the progressive conversion of Roman subjects into Roman citizens. Like all solutions, this had its dangers; but with existing circumstances it was the best. So Tacitus judged, and our judgment agrees with his.

In the faction of the great were men whom we respect to this day for their character, their virtues, or their talent; but the prime quality of statesmanship is sagacity, not virtue nor eloquence: these indeed give the public man more authority; they do not necessarily give him a comprehension of the true needs of the state. The oligarchy which could neither direct its own course nor that of the state, expiated its errors at Pharsalia; and with it fell that government which, under the deceitful words, "the republic" and "liberty," proposed that Rome and the whole world should remain in the possession of a hundred families.

Rome abdicated into the hands of Caesar; the people and the Senate gave up to him all their authority, and by this concentration the interests of the governed and those of the governing came at last to be identified. But civil war and assassination left little time to the dictator to execute the reforms which he planned. The few of these which he was able to accomplish are, however, significant.

To the poor of Rome whom the civil wars had thrown out of

employment he gives a year's house-rent; to eighty thousand of them he distributes lands; for those who remain in the city he regulates the *annona*; and he renews the obligation imposed by his consular law of employing at least one third of free laborers.

To the provincials he opens the Senate, the equestrian order, and citizenship; and the *jus civitatis*, which raises the subject to a level with those who have conquered him, is now so widely extended that in a short time the number of citizens has been increased tenfold.¹ When the state had but a small number of citizens and millions of subjects, it was like a pyramid placed upon its apex; now the pyramid stands upon its broad base, which the Empire was to make still broader.

The citizens can defend themselves by the cry, *Civis Romanus sum*, and they have the right of appeal; but the subjects are destitute of these advantages. To protect them against the arbitrary conduct of judges, Caesar causes a codification of the praetorian edicts to be begun; and he pays the governors of the provinces, to the end that they may cease to pay themselves.

To what causes shall be attributed the success of Caesar? To his personal merits, doubtless, to the devotion of his soldiers, and to the universal lassitude of the time; but it was still more due to the incapacity of the oligarchic government, most faithfully represented at the moment by that Bibulus, colleague of Caesar, who sat, the whole year, silent in his curule chair, as if, like the ancient consuls, he were waiting there till the Gauls should come.

IX. — AUGUSTUS.

LIKE the Gracchi, Caesar perished by the hands of the nobles, and the state relapsed into fourteen years of the most frightful disorder. Augustus, with less genius and more suppleness, reduced the distracted world to peace. He took into his own hands all the republican authority, but he allowed almost all the republican offices

¹ 4,008,000 in the year 28 B. C., in place of 450,000 forty-two years earlier. The number is given as 900,000 by the most ancient manuscript of Livy, that of Heidelberg; if this be authentic (cf. Mommsen, *ap. Borghesi, Œuvres épig.* iv. 9), it would indicate an increase much less remarkable, but still sufficient to show the tendency of the imperial government to increase the number of citizens.

to remain; so that to the superficial observer it seemed only that Rome had one magistrate more. "The world, wearied with civil disorder," says Tacitus, "accepted Augustus as master, and the provinces hailed with acclamation the fall of a feeble government that could repress neither its rapacious magistrates nor its insolent nobles." Augustus shared the provinces with the Senate; but the Senate had not a single soldier in all its provinces, while in those of the *imperator* was established a permanent army of three hundred thousand men. A treasury replenished by new taxes, and of which Augustus held the key, secured to the soldier his regular pay, and to the veteran the advantages promised him. This army, in garrison along the frontiers, protected the Empire against the Barbarians, and the Emperor against conspiracies, until the day came when the soldiers themselves were conspirators.

At Rome this master of twenty-five legions lived like a private citizen, and seemed to have no other desire than to restore order in all things,—in ranks, conditions, dress; he even sought to re-establish it in morals and in religion, though not himself a model in respect to either. This perpetual tribune, who pacifies eloquence and makes the Forum a desert, desires to have a community decent in its behavior, and subjected to a severe hierarchy. He classifies and divides. He reconstructs a senatorial nobility, for whom are reserved all the offices of state, and an equestrian order, which he separates into two classes,—the sons of senators and heirs of their fathers' honors, and the mere knights of the gold ring, who fill the judicial offices. The plebs has its nobles and its serfs: those who possess two hundred thousand sesterces (*ducenarii*) compose a fourth decuria of judges, and occupy the countless quartenarian positions; those destitute of that amount of money are recipients of public alms, and are relegated on festivals to the last seats in the amphitheatre. Money determines a man's condition; a fixed census makes a man senator, knight, or ducenarius. Even where there can be no question of fortune, Augustus established distinction in civil rights; for instance, in enfranchisements, and in the penal law, which places in different categories "the man of naught" and those who are *honestiores* because they have wealth. *Ordinavit*, says the biographer of Augustus: this is the whole political system of this revolutionist turned conservator since his own fortune is made,

who gives back to Roman society the aristocratic character which the late storms seemed to have taken from it. One of his juriconsults wrote: "The poor man (*humilior*) cannot be admitted to testify against the rich."

The successor of Julius Caesar had then no affection for those whom his favorite poet calls *ignobile vulgus*; at the same time he retained an institution which had been created by the Gracchi, was developed by Cato, the leader of the aristocratic party, and regulated by Caesar, and of which we find traces in certain customs of the patrician Senate. In early days the patron was obliged to give his clients a small portion of land; Augustus, now the general patron, gave to his a morsel of bread. Even the oligarchy itself had not refused this to the poor.

However little claim the proletariat of the city had to be called the Roman people, it had inherited the popular right to derive advantage from the conquest of the world. The provincial territory having become Roman property, the subject provincials had retained the use of it only on condition of paying taxes in money and in kind. They furnished gold for the public expenses, and they gave up a portion of their harvests to feed the army, the officers of government, the imperial household, and the population of the city. Every citizen resident in Rome had a right to share in the distributions, and even consuls had been seen to accept their portion of the annonary corn. This institution shared in the general reorganization which took place under Augustus, and the number of recipients was fixed at two hundred thousand, the vacancies made by death to be filled from the list of applicants who had had their names inscribed for the purpose. The monthly ration of five *modii* (about one and one sixth bushels) could no more feed a family living in idleness than can the three francs a month which is given in Paris as out-door relief.

Another duty of the Roman magistrates had been the celebration of games, which in their origin were religious festivals; they were promised to the gods in return for a victory, and the statues of the divinities were carried into the circus on the principle that, having fought for Rome, like the Dioscuri at Lake Regillus, and endured the hardship, they deserved to be present at the celebra-

tion. Combats of gladiators had also had the character of a religious ceremony; this rite, originally performed at the tomb, was designed to appease the Manes "who love blood." These festivals Augustus retained. In fulfilling obligations which were a legacy from the Republic, and not the price paid for a necessary usurpation, he by no means made a bargain, as has been asserted, with a Caesarian demagogy,—the Empire in exchange for bread and games; after the battle of Actium the people had no other share in politics than that of dragging to the Gemoniae the victims of the law or of imperial caprice.

But these games and these distributions had disastrous consequences. The state charity of the *annona*, while costing far less than our public charities, made a population of beggars whom the rich despised; the games delighted their idleness without awakening any religious sentiments, and the gladiatorial combats stimulated their native ferocity. Juvenal was then in part right with his accusing cry: *Panem et circenses!* If the populace had not been habituated to these sanguinary amusements, which the Greeks, with their refined nature, never adopted; if they had not seen so many thousands of captives thrown to wild beasts,—they would not have been so ready with their cry: "The Christians to the lions!"

In the provinces Augustus followed the prudent policy of the republican Senate and of his adoptive father: to the subjects of Rome, justice; and to the privileged peoples, a respect for their rights. These latter were the residents in the allied or the free cities in the Roman or Latin colonies, and in the municipia lately organized in Gaul, in Spain, and in all those countries where municipal life had been hitherto unknown; and they had the necessary rights,—namely, a senate, a popular assembly, elections, the duumviral jurisdiction, the care of preserving order in their territory, and also their local laws, except where they had copied those which Caesar had prepared for Italy. Augustus added strength to this great municipal system by two innovations,—one very singular, the other very judicious, and both accomplished by aid of the old ideas which existed everywhere. Above the local religions, with which he did not interfere, he established a state religion, that of Rome and the Augusti, which appeared to the peoples themselves

a natural consequence of the worship of Genii; then, making general a custom dear to the Greeks, and in earlier times practised by the Italians, he authorized the deputies of the cities, freely elected by their fellow-citizens, to meet annually in provincial assemblies; and these assemblies were empowered to send to the Emperor any complaints made by the province against their governor. This was, in a certain degree, placing the successors of the Republican proconsuls under the censorship of the subjects.

If we add to this measure of protection the defence which later will be furnished to the cities by their *syndicus*, or municipal advocate, and by the *defensor civitatis*, it will become apparent that the patronage of the weak was an old Roman custom which, under different forms, recurs in her history from the day when Rome first had subjects, to that when she ceased to have them.

Observe, further, that Augustus laid upon the citizens, and not upon the provincials, the taxes recently established for the maintenance of the army; and also that the military roads which he laid out in all parts of the Empire effected, for traffic and for the general prosperity, a revolution analogous to that effected by railways in our own day.

From all these measures there resulted for the world a long-continued prosperity; and in the cities — which remained, as to their interior administration, true republics — men were trained who, after being the Emperor's best lieutenants, became themselves Emperors, under the name of the Antonines.

The most illustrious city in the Empire had not these liberties. Satisfied with her incomparable grandeur, Rome never claimed that municipal senate which the humblest towns possessed; and to the latest day of the Empire she remained subject to an exceptional rule.

The administration of Augustus, wise and paternal in a degree, secured to him a peaceful reign of forty-four years. What, however, were the guarantees for the future? The Republic had had only a municipal constitution; the Empire should now have been constituted as a state. Augustus was not entirely blind to this problem, and he strove to solve it; but the difference of condition established by him, and his rigorous classification of individuals, succeeded no better than did the state religion and the

provincial assemblies in forming a true state. His monarchy remained an assemblage of cities subject to the same authority, without being animated by the same spirit. In the early days there had been a Roman people: the Empire had no such population; and without a people united by hereditary memories and affections, patriotism cannot exist. The men who were still called Romans were often ready to make sacrifices, each for his own municipium; but they made none for the state.

The permanent army was a successful conception; for two centuries and a half it victoriously arrested the Barbarians. But in requiring twenty years of service, and often more than that, Augustus rendered the annual recruitment so small that the population became disused to weapons; after the disaster of Varus no man in Italy was willing to enlist. On the other hand, soldiers constantly kept together in camps where they could see their own strength and could come to an understanding among themselves, became aware that the Emperor and the public treasury were at their mercy. Accordingly, we find almost as many seditions in the army as accessions of Emperors. In three centuries and a half, out of forty-nine Caesars, thirty-one were assassinated,—not to speak of “the Thirty Tyrants,” who, with the exception of one or two, came to a violent death. So many murders prove that the imperial constitution was unfortunate not only for the Emperor who was assassinated, but also for the Empire which suffered a shock. For a monarchy, monarchical habits and institutions are needful. These Rome had not; and since the Republic seemed to be preserved, men still spoke of liberty: some believed in it and sought it poniard in hand. One man alone, without court, without priests, without a nobility, destitute of everything which could protect him by standing between him and the nation, was master of the world; he was surrounded by dangers: *assiduae in eum conjurationes*. He relied upon the legions for protection; and as, in memory of the gifts that the Republican generals were wont to make to their soldiers on occasion of triumphs, each newly proclaimed Emperor emptied the treasury into the hands of the soldiery, the latter multiplied vacancies of the throne, in order to multiply “gifts of happy accession.”

To conclude: the new constitution had in reality no other

principle than the Emperor's will; so that in a country where there were no great political bodies capable of imposing a certain discretion upon the ruler, the Empire was at the mercy of the philosopher or the madman, of the able general or of the cruel and capricious boy whom a barrack-riot or an unfortunate hereditary succession had raised to power. The *lex Regia* and the definition of the imperial authority given by Seneca are a complete formula of Oriental despotism. This *régime* slowly freed itself from the republican exteriors under which Augustus had concealed it; and before it disappeared it was destined to give to the world the singular spectacle of an empire of a hundred million men, armed upon its frontiers, and governed in its interior without one soldier,—a marvel due doubtless to the impossibility of a successful revolt, but also and especially due to the gratitude of its subjects towards a government which, in general, exercised at that time only a broad and salutary protection, without interfering vexatiously in the administration of local interests.

X. — THE DECLINE.

ROME had its detestable tyrants, like Caligula, Nero, Caracalla, Elagabalus, whose vices and cruelties can only be likened to the sanguinary orgies of certain Asiatic courts; but it had also its good Emperors, who threw a new lustre upon the state and retarded its decline. At first the Emperor governed, he did not administer; and the flourishing municipal system brought forward men of talent and experience, of whom the Empire had need to direct its great affairs. After the first Flavii, exhausted Italy never again furnished an emperor; and the reign of the provincials began.

These heirs of Augustus, born far away from the old Saturnian land, are, first, the famous Antonines, natives of Spain and of Gaul, and then, the African, Septimius Severus. Recently called to the Roman life, these provinces had embraced it with so much ardor that they had already sent to the banks of the Tiber orators, poets, and philosophers; and they have preserved — the ineffaceable stamp set upon them by the genius of Rome — the most numerous

and most beautiful ruins of Roman work that can be found outside of Italy. The reigns of these monarchs make the brilliant period of the Empire, and humanity has never known one more prosperous. Charity to the poor, so little known in ancient states, entered even into the administration of the state: the great alimentary institution of Trajan was a noble effort of public benevolence that many cities and private individuals imitated. At that period the Emperors were the servants of the country which in the fourth century became the servant of its Emperors. They maintained discipline in the army, liberty in the cities, justice in the administration; and they held the Barbarians in awe of a dominion which seemed unassailable. Their jurisconsults were called "the priests of justice," and the Senate was recruited by all the distinguished ability that appeared in the cities, in public office, and in the legions. Hence at the thought of a different fortune Tacitus is filled with terror: "If the Romans should disappear from the earth, — may the gods avert this misfortune! — what else would be seen henceforth but universal war among the nations?" And this was, in fact, what followed when the colossus fell.

About the middle of the third century untoward circumstances caused the imperial dignity to pass to men born in countries of the old civilization or of coarse barbarism, — to Syrians, corrupt or effeminate, to a Goth, and even to the son of an Arab robber. With them began, in the political order, convulsions which threatened the Empire with approaching dissolution, and, in the religious order, the invasion of Oriental cults which changed the soul of the Roman world. After the Thirty Tyrants, rude soldiers from the warlike regions of Illyricum appeared to restore to the state its early vigor. But it was a world of ruins, — ruins of cities and of countries; ruin of the human mind also, which is enfeebled or perverted! Why was it impossible for brave and strong rulers, like Claudius, Aurelian, Probus, Diocletian, Constantine, to arrest the decline of the state? It was because a silent revolution, whose germ lay in the constitution of Augustus, had developed in the heart of the Empire, vitiating all its organs.

The Emperor was no longer the magistrate who lived like other citizens, who had his friends, and went to dine where he was asked, unattended by any guard; who wore woollen stuffs that his wife and

his daughter had woven; and whose dwelling was distinguished in no way except by laurel-branches over the door. His palace is now a city; his attire is of silk, with precious stones and gold; his servants are an army; and men approach him only with adoration of his tremendous majesty. This man, in favor of whom the people, the Senate, and the gods have abdicated, is an Oriental monarch: *in Tiberim defluxit Orontes*; and, in turn, he abdicates in favor of the courtiers and eunuchs who hide the Empire from him, direct his will, and reduce all his policy to the demanding every day new resources from his subjects for expenses which daily grow greater.

The Senate—at first the high council of the Empire, and an incomparable school of statesmanship, but too numerous a body and too unsafe for all questions to be submitted to it—had ceased, from the time of the Antonines, to be the central point of the government, the pivot of the state. This part was now played by the Emperor's council, which later became the imperial consistory; and the senators, excluded from the army, and later from all active functions, had now only a show of authority, without its substance.

While this assembly which had conquered the world was slowly sinking into darkness and silence, the imperial administration day by day developed and invaded everything.

At the beginning the Empire had had but a very few functionaries; and although in the tributary cities nothing was done except by the governor's will, the privileged cities, of which there were a very large number, conducted their affairs with complete freedom. But, obeying the instinctive tendencies of absolute power, the government found itself led to look closely into matters in which at first it had taken only a remote interest. Assuming that it could conduct the affairs of its subjects better than the parties interested could do, it multiplied its agents, it increased their powers, favored as it was in its involuntary encroachments by the movement of concentration which had spread from Rome throughout the provinces. Under the influence of the imperial officers, but with the unconscious assistance of the populations themselves,—especially of their more important men, who aimed at constituting an urban nobility as Rome had constituted an imperial nobility,—the municipal system of the first century was greatly altered.

Very ancient customs required that the service of officials should be gratuitous. When the cities, favored by the increasing security and the general prosperity, sought to adorn themselves; when they built aqueducts, *thermae*, circuses, and amphitheatres; when they, finally, assumed a really metropolitan character, having each an extensive territory to govern, the citizens strove among themselves for the titles of *decurion* and *duumvir*, which might lead to greater honors; and it was the money offered, the statues promised, the games and festivals given, which decided the elections. The rich alone could make these sacrifices, and expose themselves to the heavy financial responsibilities which the magistrate incurred in his administration. The aristocratic character of Roman society grew therefore every day more and more marked in the provinces. Manners and institutions alike led to it; and in the cities, as in Rome, the people at last came to be of no importance whatever. By degrees the ancient liberties disappeared; the public assembly and the elections fell almost everywhere into desuetude; the *curia*, kept full by *cooptatio*, appointed the *duumvirs*; the condition of the *curiales* became in fact hereditary, and the poor man was shut up within his humble condition by the civil law, which debarred him from municipal honors, and by the penal law, which laid upon him penalties from which the rich were exempt. Although the edict of Caracalla seemed to establish equality among all the Romans, the very great majority of the inhabitants of the Empire continued to form the class of *humiliores*, whom their despised condition prepared for every form of servitude,—that of the soul as well as of the body.

But some of those who paid heavily for municipal honors knew how to secure for themselves compensation. The abuses which had sprung up in Rome when the oligarchy had held sway were repeated in the cities; the Empire had many a municipal *Verres*,—as had the French communes of the mediæval period and the free cities, and as Ireland still had not long ago. Some committed breaches of trust, others allowed themselves indemnities out of the public funds, notwithstanding the absolutely gratuitous character of their functions; and this usage began very early, for it is prohibited by the law *Genetiva Julia*, of the first century of the Christian era.

This urban nobility — separated from the people by its wealth, its privileges, and its pride — gave occasion, by its bad administration, for the constantly increasing interference of the general government in the affairs of the cities. As early as the Antonines, curators had been appointed for certain cities to restore order in their wasted finances; the municipal jurisdiction was restrained for the purpose of withdrawing the administration of justice from the influence of local passions; taxes could be instituted and public works executed only with the consent of the imperial lieutenant; and appointments and decisions of the curia were annulled if they were displeasing to the governor (*ambitiosa decreta*). In place of the proud language of the *lex Genetiva Julia*, permitting the decurions to call out the citizens in arms to maintain order within the territory, under the command of a duumvir invested with the powers of the legionary tribune of Rome, the *Code* of Justinian contains regulations obliging the curia to submit the appointment of the *irenarcha* (the guardian of the public peace) to the approbation — that is to say, to the choice — of the imperial magistrate. The disorder that arose from liberty had rendered an administrative guardianship necessary; and this latter, exaggerating its proper function, changed the once living city into a body without a soul. It was not until the Empire fell, and all this administrative interference came to an end, that the municipal system — like a robust trunk which, after the whirlwind, puts forth new branches — recovered in many parts of Italy and France its early vigor.

The cities where the forum had been reduced to peace, and the senate was docile, appeared to the central authority susceptible of being usefully employed to perform a function of the state. The *curiales*, whose duty it already was to have charge of public works, of the supplies for the imperial post, of the collecting of the *annona*, or tax in kind, and even of the levying of recruits when the government called for them, were further intrusted with the collection of the land-tax, payable in money, with the threatening condition attached that any deficiency which might occur must be made up from their private means. To these state services were added those which the city imposed, — namely, the administration of its financial affairs; the repair of its public buildings, bridges, and roads; the celebration of games and festivals; the purchase of

the corn and oil required by the city, and the superintendence of their distribution at the price paid or at a lower price; the providing of lodging for the imperial magistrates, and for troops who passed through the city; the defence of the municipal interests in court or before the Emperor (which latter case involved a long and difficult journey): in a word, the innumerable obligations comprised under the terms *munera personarum*, which were to be fulfilled in person, and *munera patrimonii*, which comprised expenses in some cases very large. This long enumeration proves that all the social vitality of the Empire was in the local senates. Hence, two consequences, — occurring, one in the Early Empire, the other in the fourth century: when these senates are in good condition, everything prospers; when they are hampered and in distress, everything suffers.

The Empire suffered in two ways from the discomfort which its own demands caused, — as the cities grew poor, the general wealth also diminished; and from the day when the *curiales* had to guarantee the larger part of the Emperor's revenues, they became the objects of his incessant solicitude. The *Theodosian Code* alone contains, under the head *de Decurionibus*, a hundred and ninety-two decisions, of which the aim is to compel every man who has wealth to enter the curia, and to prevent him from leaving it. The *curialis* was chained to his position. He could not become a soldier or a priest, except on condition of relinquishing his property to the curia. He was also forbidden to become a member of the imperial administration; and a law at last prohibited him even from entering the Senate of Rome or that of Constantinople. From all these measures it resulted that the upward movement which in the first two centuries invigorated with new blood the devitalized stock of the governing class, came to an end; public offices were no longer filled by men well trained for such duties, and the moral tone of the administration was lowered. The history of the Empire thus repeats that of the Republic: after the Licinian laws, — the accession to power of the plebeians and the grandeur of Rome; after the first Emperors, — the accession of the provincials and the prosperity of the Empire; then, the former crowded back into obscurity by the consular oligarchy, and the latter by fiscal tyranny. But at the end of the

first of these two periods Caesar came; at the end of the second came the Barbarians.

Diocletian and Constantine did not effect a political revolution; the changes which they made were great administrative measures. They co-ordinated the institutions which had been bequeathed to them, added to these a few others, and gave the imperial monarchy its final form, that of the Byzantine Empire, characterized by weakness and cruelty, — a not unusual combination; and Rome, which had begun with the mildest penal legislation, ended by having the most severe.¹

The new government, like the old, relied upon the army, but it depended still more upon an administration which penetrated everywhere, in order to keep watch upon and control everything. Active and fruitful life had formerly been scattered over the entire surface of the territory; an extreme centralization now restricted it to the bureaux (*officia*), which were filled by the agents of the Emperor, — an innumerable army, whose chief duty was to obtain money for the Emperor by means of taxes, and who obtained it for themselves by venality. This icy hand stretched out over the Empire chilled all the springs of life, and everything became motionless. As the *curialis* was the serf of the state, and the *colonus* that of the land, so the workman of the imperial manufactories was bound to his trade, the soldier to his cohort, the artisan to his corporation; and that they might be easily recovered if they should make their escape from the camp or the workshop, they were branded on the arm or hand, like cattle kept in droves by the farmer. The servitude of the Middle Ages was beginning.

XI. — RUIN.

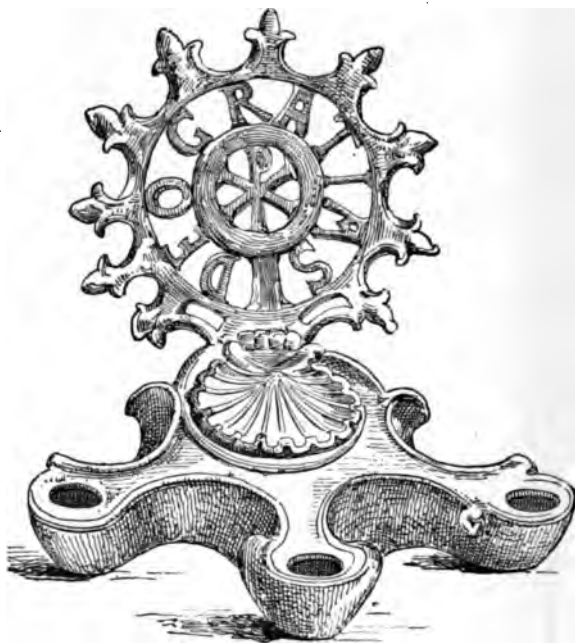
MOTION, the great law of the physical world, is also the law of the moral world. This society, like a human body sinking under the weight of the fetters with which it is bound, no longer acts or thinks. It has now no writers or artists or poets to charm

¹ *Nulli gentium mitiores placuisse poenas* (Livy, i. 28). Under the Republic the death-penalty had been abolished in the case of citizens. Cf. Vol. II. pp. 341, 342, 474, and Appendix of this volume, I., B.

and stimulate it by the presentation of an ideal,—the *sursum corda et spiritus* which renders nations glorious. The sentiment of patriotism has disappeared; the gods are dead; and like a worn-out soil no longer bearing fruit, the pagan world no longer produces men. From this history a great lesson is to be derived: where the government chooses to do everything, there the citizens do nothing. The state had aimed to secure industry, by organizing it in corporations and establishing hereditary conditions for it; what it accomplished was the organization of public destitution.

In the midst of a world thus perishing there were, however, men who both acted and thought: but their attention was directed to heaven, not earth; their whole solicitude concerned the life after death, and not this present existence. The

earliest Christians were perfectly indifferent to the various forms of servitude which had taken the place of the free life of the old Graeco-Roman cities; they had at first sought nothing but the peaceable exercise of their religion, were it in the most obscure retreats. To them the Roman world was “the great whore” whom their Scriptures had condemned. They fled her honors; they would not fulfil the duties she imposed; to her woes they were indifferent; and not regarding the Barbarians as enemies, they refused to



CHRISTIAN LAMP.¹

¹ Bronze lamp found at Selinonte in 1882, bearing the Christian monogram and the legend DEO GRATIAS (*Notizie degli Scavi*, etc., 1882, p. 332). Another antique bronze, found at Syracuse in 1870, and published by Mr. Lewis of Corpus Christi College, Cambridge, represents a lamp, which at one end has the head of the serpent, the principle of evil. The foot of a cross surmounted by a dove pierces the serpent's head, while at the other end of the lamp is the flame, the symbol of Christ's victory. See Vol. VII. p. 578.

fight against them. As soon as the fear of persecution was re-



IVORY OF THE SYMMACHI (SO CALLED).¹

moved, they entered upon sharp disputes concerning their creed, which lasted for a century with no profit to the state; and during that century the Germans arrived. The Gospel had produced saints, but it had formed neither citizens nor statesmen. For the pagan Empire the Christians were an element of dissolution; and when they were its masters they knew not how to defend it. The rôle of the Church as a social element did not begin until the Middle Ages, when in the midst of feudal barbarism she became the champion of the rights of the human soul, when she opposed election to hereditary succession, justice to force, learning to ignorance, charity to the selfishness of brutal passions, and when, by dint of preaching the improvement of the soul, she opened the way for those who aimed at the improvement of society.

These merits, which the Church has not always retained, she pos-

¹ Scene of sacrifice represented on one leaf of a diptych, formerly at Montier-en-Der, bought in 1865 by the South Kensington Museum. The other half, representing a young woman holding two reversed torches, with the inscription, *Nicomachorum* (which has not yet

sessed in the fourth century; but the men of that time gained little thereby, those excepted who learned of her resignation in suffering, serenity in the terrible hour of death, and the hope of eternal blessedness. She had peopled the world with guardian angels who made glad the hearts of the devout; but she had also sown broadcast the fear of hell, and the Evil One, prowling under a thousand forms, made existence frightful. From the union of these hopes and these terrors monachism originated,—a conception of life and an ideal of perfection, now offered to the world, which was in absolute contradiction with the sentiments which had filled the patriotic souls of the Romans of early days.

Further, in the history of this great ruin we must take into consideration the economic conditions of Roman society.

As the government seeks its principal resources from the land-tax, and for the payment of this tax are pledged the property and the persons of the land-owners, overburdened agriculture deserts whole provinces; for example, fortunate Campania, which up to this time has never yet seen a Barbarian, over a space of nearly three hundred thousand acres has neither a man nor a house. The indirect contributions of the Early Empire had made it rich; in the fourth century very little was obtained in this way, for the reason that, industrial life being fixed in corporations, labor slackened, the production became less, and traffic ceased. The exhausted mines did not replace the specie sent out of the country for imports and pensions to Barbarians, or lost at home by being buried in the ground, as was done every time an invasion was apprehended. This scarcity of the precious metals gave capital a crushing preponderance. He who possessed it used it as the Roman of early times did,—the great industry of the day was money-lending. In three years the interest had doubled the debt, and the borrower, quickly ruined,

been explained), is in the Museum of Cluny. It is impossible to say to what period this diptych belongs, nor why it bears the name of the Symmachi. They were a great pagan family of the fourth century; six individuals of that name are known in history,—the earliest, a proconsul of Achaia in 319; another, prefect of Rome in 364, was honored by the Senate in 377 with a gold statue; the third is famous by his *Letters* and the fragments of *Discourses* that have come down to us, and especially by his contest with Saint Ambrose about the altar of Victory in the Senate. The last known was converted to Christianity, and was put to death by Theodoric about 525. This thoroughly pagan diptych seems, by the elegance of the head and of the draperies, to be anterior to the fourth century; it doubtless was the property of the pagan family whose name it bears.

abandoned house or land to his creditor. In the time of Pliny the *latifundia* extended all over Italy and the provinces; in Africa six land-owners possessed the entire proconsular province. It could not be otherwise in a society where, credit not existing and industry being precarious, the poor man became every day poorer, and the rich, who had capital at his command, constantly richer. Atticus Herodes had wealth enough to pension all Athens; Didius Julianus and Firmus, to buy the purple with ready money; Tacitus, to pay the armies from his own purse; and Symmachus spent cheerfully, on the festivals of his praetorship, two thousand pounds weight of gold. We see, therefore, in the Empire a few colossal fortunes, and at the side of them extreme destitution; that is to say, the contrary of what should be the case in a well-ordered society.

The new religious teaching — an energetic and salutary reaction against pagan sensuality and the egotism of the great — did well in advocating charity. But instead of saying, with Septimius Severus, *Laboremus*, which is the password of civil society, the Church asserted that to sell one's goods and give to the poor was the means of laying up treasure in heaven. Most frequently this was a waste of wealth, which relieved the poor but for the moment, and, far from reducing their number, only served to increase dishonest beggary.

Lastly, the population was reduced by pestilence and famine, by civil wars and barbaric invasions; and it was also lessened as a result of the preaching of the new clergy, who, imposing celibacy upon themselves, encouraged it in others, and induced Constantine to annul the privileges which the first Emperor had conferred upon fathers of families. We find even that the average duration of human life lessens in the fourth century; almost all the Empresses die young, and the Emperors who escape a violent death do not live to a great age.

A monarch intoxicated with power and adulation; courtiers and eunuchs seeking their own advantage from his favor; an administration already having the rapacious hands of Oriental functionaries; impoverished cities, languishing industry, once fertile provinces becoming deserts; and the constant lowering of the social level, — all these are evils which make the life of a state wretched, but they do not necessarily abridge it. The active causes of the destruc-

tion of Rome lie in the fatal policy which during four centuries peopled the frontier provinces with Germans; in the increasing strength of the Barbarians, who, no longer restrained, organized for the attack; and in the demoralization of the Roman army, which made resistance impossible.

When the Barbarians, having learned the art of war in so many campaigns, were in a position to plan and carry out offensive operations, then Rome had need of Trajan's soldiers; but she had under the standards only mercenaries undisciplined and treacherous. The legionaries of early days had conquered the world with the pick as much as with the sword; their unworthy successors are incapable of laying out a camp. The old arms have become too heavy for their indolence: they must have small shields and lighter helmets; even on a campaign they propose to live comfortably, and to this end they encumber themselves with an immense baggage-train and convoys bearing the provisions which the soldier himself no longer carries. The Roman army cannot march; it takes months for Constantius and Theodosius to come up with their adversaries.

This decay of military virtues was in itself a very serious evil; more fatal still were the changes in the composition of the army. The dread of senatorial conspiracies, and the absolute necessity of holding the *curialis* to his too numerous duties, had led the Emperors to prohibit military service to the nobles of the state and of the city. The army for a time was recruited from the dregs of a population still in part Roman; but in the fourth century it was almost entirely from the Barbarians that soldiers were obtained. An Aleman could be bought cheap, while government sold at a high price to the *possessores* exemptions from furnishing recruits. The treasury thus made a twofold gain; but this financial expedient deprived the Empire of national troops. Franks, Alemanni, Goths, Vandals, command the Roman army, and their soldiers, of the same origin with themselves, often betray their plans; while deserters instruct the enemy in Roman discipline, forge weapons for them, and reveal to them the propitious moment for the invasion of some province. The protection of the Empire is intrusted to those who are about to dismember it. Does any man know the number of defections at the battle of Hadrianople, that

second field of Cannae, whence a portion of the Roman army fled without fighting?

From the time of Augustus it had been believed that the advance of the Barbaric world could be arrested by establishing Barbarians on the left bank of the Rhine and the right bank of the Danube. With a truly Roman army the danger might have been averted; it became formidable when the army itself was Barbarian also, and its officers, appointed by the Emperor dukes, counts, members of the imperial consistory, even consuls, held the fate of the Empire in their hands. A peaceful invasion of the provinces and of offices of state came first; then followed the armed invasion: and the one prepared the way for the other. Jordanes calls Theodosius "the friend of the Goths," and the Emperor deserved that title: Alaric, who later took Rome, had been one of his generals.

Following the monarch's example, the Church opened her arms to the Barbarians; and of these men, whose deep degradation Gregory of Tours describes, she already made a predestined race. A few years later an eloquent priest exclaims, amid the crash of the falling Empire: "In Saul, accursed and dethroned, behold Rome! In David, blessed and victorious, behold the Barbarians!" We have long been simple-minded enough to repeat this sentence of Salvianus, which is perpetually reiterated by the descendants of these great destroyers; in their judgment the world has known but two civilizations,—that of antiquity, and the *Germanenthum*.

Could Rome have escaped this destiny? In a certain degree she could, if Augustus, Trajan, and Hadrian had had heirs instead of unworthy successors. But in human affairs there is a power of circumstances which skilful men employ to advantage, but which bears all before it when demagogues have taken the place of wise statesmen. The Oriental monarchy of the Later Empire proceeds from the half-republican kingship of Augustus; and the formation of an innumerable administrative *personnel* naturally followed from the absolute power of the ruler, who to bring order into everything, introduced everywhere his individual will, his agents, and servility. The expenses of a luxurious court; the salaries of an army of functionaries; the subsidies furnished to the Barbarians to keep them peaceful and to obtain from them soldiers; and, finally, the enormous destruction of capital caused by revolutions and by

invasions, — rendered it necessary to increase the taxes. Landed property, traffic, industry, were overwhelmed by them, and usury incessantly devoured what the state had spared. Hence the populations ceased to love a government which ruined them and did not protect them. They had shown their gratitude for that “Roman Peace” which gave each man the opportunity to live securely under his own vine and fig-tree; but smothered rage was in their hearts, and curses were upon their lips, against the rulers who suffered Barbarians to range the provinces with impunity, like troops of wild beasts. The horizon of men’s minds grew narrower; each man shut himself up in his own city. In vain Marcus Aurelius wrote: “The Athenian said, O city beloved of Cecrops! and canst not thou say, O city beloved of Jupiter!” Men were citizens of Tours, of Seville, of Alexandria, of Antioch, and not of the Empire; and they cared nothing for the disasters which others suffered. One of the latest of the Roman poets extols Rome falsely in saying that she has made the whole world one city: *Urbem fecisti quod prius orbis erat*. The thousand cities of the Empire, strangers one to another, had not that community of feeling which makes the hearts of millions of men, mutually unknown, beat as one; at the same time the state’s supreme power weighs heavily upon each city. Notwithstanding the ties, at once fragile and yet burdensome, with which government had enwrapped society, all things went to pieces under the hand of the Barbarians; and the Empire fell, a colossus made of sand. Municipal isolation and the extreme of centralization are evils alike fatal. Greece perished of one, the Empire of the other, — or rather, we might say, of both; for it suffered at the same time from these two forms of social weakness.

It is common to date the fall of the Empire with the year 476. But old Rome was really dead much earlier; Theodosius is the last who can be called truly a Roman Emperor. After him on the throne of the West there are only shadows. The East is now the Byzantine Empire, and the Middle Ages begin; for the Germans are everywhere, and the spirit of the Gregorys and the Bonifaces reigns in the Church.

XII. — RESULTS OF THE ROMAN DOMINION.

SHALL we say that the Roman people are completely dead? It is with empires as with individuals: they live honored in men's memory only by the great deeds they have done. The sanctuary of art and of thought, Greece, like her poet,

"Est jeune encor de gloire et d'immortalité."

Rome merits less admiration, and her people are not of those whom we love; but she remains to the world the school of statesmanship, of law, of administration, and of war.

In the early part of her history we see the happy results of a policy progressively liberal; in the later, the fatal consequences of absolute power ruling a servile society by means of a venal administration.

It was the very soul of the Empire which passed into the mediæval monarchies; which, after the feudal partition, reconstituted the great communities, giving the idea of a supreme organization; which made the descendants of Alaric take the title of chiefs of "the Holy Roman Empire," and say, through Saint Louis, *Si veut le roi, si veut la loi*, — words which sovereigns still repeat. Two Roman principles made the mediæval kings masters of justice through appeals, and masters of the law by their legislative power: *constitutio principis legis vicem habet*.

In modern Europe has been imitated Rome's administrative organization, which shows how to rule great multitudes of men; and certain royal houses have copied the Byzantine court, which has enwrapped them also, as it were, in a shroud. But other nations, mindful of one of the oldest of Roman institutions, have taken up the popular protectorate: *tribunicia potestas*.

The legions of early Rome, by their discipline and the labor they performed, might yet teach much to our modern armies; but we can learn nothing from those of Theodosius, who were a Barbarian mob, and not an army.

Roman law survived the invasion and spread itself beyond the

ancient boundaries of the Empire: the Barbarian kings transmitted it as their personal law to their subjects; Germany yet gives it a juridic value, and it has inspired many of the laws of France. The jurisconsults of Rome laid the true foundations of justice and morals applied to communities when they placed at the head of their books this definition of law by Celsus: *Jus est ars boni et aequi*; or the three precepts of Ulpian: *Honesti vivere, Alterum non laedere, Suum cuique tribuere*. They took up the cause of the weak, gave rights to those who had none, condemned the use of torture fifteen centuries ago, and declared slavery a condition contrary to natural law.

The municipal system of Rome, which has bequeathed to us administrative rules still in use, lasted longer than has been generally supposed. The consuls of Marseilles, of Arles, of Nîmes, Narbonne, Toulouse, Périgueux, etc., were the heirs of the duumvirs, who themselves had taken the name and insignia of Roman consuls. And surely there is something in common, if it be no more than a remote association, between the States-general of the southern provinces of France in the Middle Ages and the provincial assemblies whose existence we follow from the first years of the Empire to its end. A recent French law, authorizing joint action of several Departments in view of a common interest, is found in the *Theodosian Code*. By a fortunate inconsistency, from out of the mass of ruins made by despotism have emerged some of our ideas of social justice, and perhaps our earliest liberties.

We cannot now return to the constitution of the family nor to that of the city as they were among the Romans. The city of the first centuries of the Empire was still a republic, and the family was a kingdom which the father, the priest of his household by the *sacra privata*, ruled with absolute power. But how many examples of patriotic devotion, of obedience to law, of generosity towards a man's fellow-citizens, we find in the history of their municipal system; and how strong was the family, how respected the father, even after the transformations which the ancient law underwent! Certain virtues, which are growing less in our time, might well be rekindled at the hearth of this ancient people.

The extent of the Roman dominion, the spirit that Greek philosophy had spread throughout it, the monotheistic movement

which prevailed among enlightened minds, and the wretched condition of the innumerable class known to the law as *humiliores*, had facilitated the spread of Christianity. The earliest Christian communities were sheltered by the law concerning funeral associations, and the Church in establishing her hierarchy utilized the mould of imperial institutions, as she preserved so many pagan customs which brought the peoples of the Empire so gently into her fold. Cities became bishoprics, provinces were metropolitan divisions of territory, provincial assemblies became synods, and later the Pope inherited the legal infallibility of the Emperors. A mass of materials were furnished by Rome for the construction of the great edifice which was to shelter so many generations, and wherein her dominating spirit still prevails.

In the theoretical sciences Rome accomplished nothing; the time for the great conquests of the natural forces had not yet come. In respect to arts and literature, — the spoils of war brought home to the banks of the Tiber, — she is in the second rank; but at least she fills it honorably. Pheidias was not born on one of the Seven Hills, and there is no Parthenon but that of Athens; at the same time, while copying the temples, the statues, and the medals of Greece, the Romans gave great importance to elements of art that Athens and Corinth ignored or neglected, — for instance, the arch and the vault, which in the best days of Hellenic development were not employed.¹ The Romans did indeed build, as did the Greeks, quadrangular temples; but in honor of their great soldiers, for the necessities of their Empire, and the amusements of their cities, they erected triumphal arches, the dome of the Pantheon, aqueducts, circuses, amphitheatres, and those military roads along which their legions and their commands went so rapidly to the ends of the world: and on the great rivers those bridges, all of which we have not rebuilt; and the Colosseum, and the Baths of Caracalla, mountains of stone which rest so heavily and with so much majesty upon the earth that we may take them as a figure of the Roman sway. In these works Greece had no share, — in some cases indeed the hand that executed may have been hers,

¹ The vault requires strong abutments, composed of heavy masonry in which strength, skill, and materials are expended uselessly for the general effect. The frugal Greek genius was averse to this prodigality.

but never the mind that conceived them. After Egypt and the East, the Hellenic genius created a new religious architecture; Rome created civil architecture, and made manifest the necessity of great public works. The art of mosaic is also Roman.¹

Although in literature Rome was but the echo of Greece, she civilized all the Western world, for which the Greeks had done nothing. Her language, out of which sprang the various languages of the Romance nations, is in case of need a means of communication among scholars of all countries, and her books will always remain — a wise selection being made — the best for the higher culture of the mind. They have merited above all others the title of *litterae humaniores*, the literature by which men are made. A cardinal, reading the *Thoughts* of Marcus Aurelius (written in Greek, it is true, but written by a Roman), exclaimed: "My soul blushes redder than my scarlet at sight of the virtues of this Gentile." Suppose Rome destroyed by Pyrrhus or Hannibal before Marius and Caesar had driven the German tribes back from Gaul: their invasion would have been effected five centuries sooner; and since they would have found opposed to them only other Barbarians, what a long night would have settled down upon the world!

It is true that when the Roman people had laid hands upon the treasures of Alexander's successors, the scandal of their orgies exceeded for a century anything that the East had ever seen; that their amusements were sanguinary games or licentious plays; that the Roman mind, after receiving a temporary benefit from Greek philosophy, went astray in Oriental mysticism; and that finally, after having loved liberty, Rome accepted despotism, as if willing to astonish the world as much by her great corruption as she had

¹ A great number of mosaics have already been discovered in France, in England, and in Africa, and new ones are constantly being added to the list. The colored plate (frontispiece to this Section) represents one which was discovered at Nîmes in 1883. It is nineteen feet eight inches broad, and about twenty-six feet long. Caissons of very varied design surround a central composition about five feet square, representing the marriage of Admetus and Alcestis. Pelias, king of Iolcus, had promised to accept as his son-in-law that one of his daughter's suitors who should come riding in a chariot drawn by a lion and a wild boar. Apollo, driven out of Olympus on account of the murder of the Cyclopes, and condemned to serve a mortal for a year, kept the flocks of Admetus, a Thessalian king. By the aid of his divine shepherd Admetus was able to fulfil the hard condition. The artist represents the arrival of the suitor; Pelias, wearing his armor and seated on a throne, holds a sceptre in his hand. By his side stands Alcestis. Admetus has dismounted from the chariot drawn by the two wild animals. He is accompanied by two guards in cuirasses. Twenty animals are represented in the scrolls and leafage of the border.

by the greatness of her empire. But can we say that no other age or nation has known servility of soul, licentiousness in public amusements, and the conspicuous depravity in morals that is always to be seen where indolence and wealth are united?

To the legacies left by Rome which have now been enumerated, we must add another which ranks among the most precious. Notwithstanding the poetic piety of Vergil, and Livy's official credulity, the dominant note of Latin literature is the indifference of Horace, when it is not the daring scepticism of Lucretius. To Cicero, Seneca, Tacitus, and the great jurisconsults, the prime necessity was the free possession of themselves, that independence of philosophic thought which they owed to Greece. This spirit, begotten of pure reason, was almost stifled during the Middle Ages. It reappeared



BRONZE MEDAL.¹

when antiquity was recovered. From that day the renascent world set forward again; and in the new path France, heir of Athens and of Rome, was long her guide, — for art, in its most charming forms, and for thought, developed in the light.

Upon a medal of Constantine his son presents to him a globe surmounted by a phoenix, symbol of immortality. For once, the courtiers were not in the wrong. The sacred bird which springs from her own ashes is a fitting emblem of this old Rome, dead fifteen centuries ago, yet alive to-day through her genius: *Siamo Romani*.²

¹ GLORIA SAECVLI VIRTVS CAES. Constantine II., standing, holds a trophy, and presents to his father a globe surmounted by a phoenix. At his feet a panther, in an attitude of submission, symbolizes the Barbarians. Reverse of a bronze medal of Constantine the Great (Cohen, vol. vi. p. iii, No. 164).

² The Trasteverini proudly call themselves *Romani*.

The first two volumes of this work were published originally in 1843 and the following year; the third was ready to appear in 1849. But it showed the establishment of the Empire by Julius Caesar and Augustus to be a necessary, and hence a legitimate, consequence of the errors of the Roman oligarchy. I feared lest it might appear a book written for an occasion, and I laid the manuscript aside. A professorship in the *École normale* and in the *École polytechnique*, the general superintendence of public instruction, and other high functions — due to an august confidence which I shall always gratefully remember — prevented me from resuming this work until after the fourth of September, 1870. This History of Rome, therefore, has occupied me for many years. Gibbon closes his great work with a proud and sad adieu to the old companion of his life. I have not his legitimate pride, but neither do I feel his sadness; for I have not yet parted from this book, which to me also has been a faithful friend. I shall still hope to make it more worthy. Must we not acknowledge that history, by the great discoveries daily made, is itself perpetually renewed?

APPENDIX.

TO this History I add, by way of appendix, the following papers: I. "On the Historic Formation of the two Classes of Roman Citizens designated in the Pandects as *Honestiores* and *Humiliores*;" and II. "On the *Tribuni Militum a Populo*." The Academy of Inscriptions and Belles-Lettres has done me the honor to include these papers in its published Collections; and in my judgment they treat of matters important to the student of Roman history.

The former seeks to explain how the Roman people, from the second century of the Christian era, came to be divided by the civil and the penal law into two classes of very unequal numbers; so that notwithstanding Caracalla's edict, which seemed to proclaim the equality of all Romans, the greater portion of the inhabitants of the Empire were legally retained in a condition of inferiority. This inequality, increased by the measures which the law-maker of the fourth century took for the rigorous classification of individuals, prepared the way for the servitudes of the mediæval period.

The second, of less general interest, confirms the theory that municipal liberties were very extensive under the Early Empire, and explains how order could prevail in the provinces while all the military forces of the state were stationed along the frontiers.

I further add two brief papers: one, upon a passage of Herodian, explaining why I cannot accept that writer's statement concerning the praetorian guards in the time of Septimius Severus,—a statement which hitherto has been universally received; and in the other, upon the measures of Augustus towards the Druids, I have shown that the imperial government very early decided upon its policy towards those religions with which the Roman polytheism could not harmonize, in all cases except those where, as with the Jews, a treaty had guaranteed the protection of the national faith.

VICTOR DURUY.

I.

ON THE HISTORIC FORMATION OF THE TWO CLASSES OF ROMAN CITIZENS DESIGNATED IN THE PANDECTS AS *HONESTIORES* AND *HUMILIORES*.¹

A.

IN the Roman Empire the law admitted two classes of punishment—the one milder, the other more severe—for the same crime. We have the same thing in modern legislation, which, authorizing the plea of extenuating circumstances, permits the judge to diminish the penalty in varying degree. In modern times this system grows out of an idea of equity; at Rome the departure was from the exactly opposite principle,—namely, an idea of the inequality of human conditions, of which the law must take account; as though the poor man were already condemned by the gods. The decurion, for example, guilty of a crime which would send the *humilior* to the galleys, owing to the privilege of his station merely suffered a temporary removal from the curia.² By sentence of Marcus Aurelius, a Roman knight guilty of housebreaking was exiled for five years from his province,³ while for a like crime the *humilior* would have been sent for life to the Dacian mines or the Egyptian quarries. “Seditious persons,” says Paulus, “according to their condition, are crucified, thrown to the wild beasts, or transported into an island.”⁴ Lastly, the stake is expressly reserved for slaves, *plebei et humiles personae*.⁵ Thus certain persons could not be beaten with rods,⁶ crucified, burned to death, or thrown to wild beasts; while in case of condemnation these cruel penalties were the ordinary lot of the unfortunate man who had not been able to rise above his low condition.

This social phenomenon, whose consequences far outlasted the Empire, has never been, to my knowledge, investigated in the order of its historic formation.⁷

¹ Paper read before the Academy of Inscriptions and Belles-Lettres, Nov. 13, 1874.

² *Ordine ad tempus moveri* (*Digest*, xlviii. 18, 1, sect. 1).

³ *Dig.* xlviii. 18, 1, sect. 2.

⁴ *Sent.* v. 22; cf. *ibid.* 21, 23.

⁵ *Dig.* xlviii. 19, 28; cf. fr. 38, sects. 3, 5, 7.

⁶ . . . *Fustibus caedi solent tenuiores homines, honestiores vero . . . non subjiuntur* (*Dig.* xlviii. 19, 28, sect. 2).

⁷ M. Naudet, in his book entitled *La Noblesse chez les Romains*, pp. 115–117, has well marked the respective conditions of the *honestiores* and the *humiliores*; but the *Digest*, modern juriconsults, historians, and archæologists, teach us nothing as to the historic formation of the two classes. The question does not appear even to have been raised. Walter, in his

It is my intention to examine under the influence of what ideas and what facts so monstrous an inequality could have come into existence among the Latin people,—a people ruled by laws which have been justly called “written reason,” and to whom we have been taught from childhood to attribute republican equality.

B.

IN the first place, there never was—nor was it possible that there should be—any true equality in a community which had slavery and had not habits of industry; where extensive ownership of land had greatly reduced the petty holdings; whose traditions and whose laws recognized,—in the patrician, superiority of race; in the father of the family, absolute power over his household; in the master, unlimited authority over his slaves; in the patron, strict rights in the case of his freedmen. Such an organization of city and family left no place to the poor, save one of dependence upon the arrogant rich whom Martial calls “kings.”

This constitution of the family had determined that of the state. In the earliest times the plebs were excluded from the political city, and Servius gave them only the semblance of admission. As a reward for having in the year 304 B. C. shut up the *aerarii* and the *libertini*,—whom Livy calls the *humili*¹—within the four urban tribes, which were the least esteemed of all, Fabius, the most illustrious patrician of his time, received the surname Maximus, which his victories over the Samnites had not been enough to give him. This distinction between *honestiores* and *humiliores* had entered so profoundly into Roman ideas that at the taking of Carthage Scipio made two classes of the citizens,—the townspeople, whom he sent away free, and the artisans, whom he reduced to slavery.² It was in vain that at the time of the Punic wars the centuriate assembly received modifications of a democratic character; the nobles kept their disdain for the lower classes. “Do you walk on your hands?” one of them said when, on an election day, he touched a peasant’s horny palm. As soon as it was possible to do it, the nobles re-established the timocratic organization of the assembly, and up to the time of the civil wars the Roman constitution remained faithful to the axiom: *Ne plurimum valeant plurimi*.³

Histoire du droit romain; Rein, *Criminalrecht der Römer*; Marquardt, *Alterthümer*; Kühn, *Städt.- und Bürgerl. Verfassung des röm. Reichs*, etc., have not referred to it. Savigny pays the subject no attention, and the *Encyclopédie* of Pauly does not even contain the names of *Honestior* and *Humilior*. Holzendorff (*Die Deportatio*, 1858) mentions them (p. 110), but only to state the fact of a different penal condition for rich and poor.

¹ ix. 46.

² Polybius, x. fr. 2.

³ Cicero, *De Re publ.* ii. 22: . . . *Quod semper*, he adds, *in re publica tenendum est*.

Livy says of the censors of the year 181 B. C.: "They ranged the citizens in tribes in accordance with race, condition, and property."¹ On the eve of the Empire, Cicero again speaks of classes formed according to station, age, and fortune;² and the phrase, "a man of the fifth class," was with him an expression of the utmost contempt.³

It will be remembered that the freedmen were excluded from the rustic tribes, unless they were rich enough to acquire landed property there,⁴ and that the censor Sempronius, the father of the Gracchi, proposed to take from them the right of suffrage. The addition to the urban tribes of men who had been slaves was not at all calculated to raise the position of those tribes. In what terms does Cicero speak of the common people, who are Barbarians in his eyes (*operarios barbarosque*),⁵ from whom can be asked, any day, murder, incendiarism, pillage, and whom Clodius could gather only by emptying the taverns!—"A noble image of Roman majesty," he says, "is this crowd of slaves, beggars, and assassins. . . . The true people you beheld on that memorable day when the Campus Martius was filled with men who, to come thither, had closed, not the shops of Rome, but the cities of Italy."⁶ Cicero knows, however, that this rabble is the majority; for to designate a worthless man he says freely: *tenuis unusque e multis*.⁷

Thus in republican Rome the census determines ranks; and the citizen having nothing to inscribe on the register of the censors, makes part of what Lucian later calls "the vile multitude,"⁸ which plays a part in public affairs only when some demagogue stirs it up. And when one of these plebeians, who comes so near belonging to the rabble of wretches held in slavery, had any account to settle with justice, there would have been shown him the same severity used towards foreigners and slaves, had not the Twelve Tables established the principle of equality before the penal

¹ xl. 51: *Mutarunt suffragia, regionatimque generibus hominum, causis et quaestibus tribus descripserunt.*

² *De Leg.* iii. 3: . . . *Populi partis in tribus discribunto, exin pecunias, aevitates, ordines partiunt.*

³ *Acad.* ii. 23.

⁴ Livy, xlv. 14, 15.

⁵ *Tuscul.* v. 36; cf. *De Off.* i. 42; and Seneca, *Ep.* xiii. 3.

⁶ *Pro domo*, 33, and *Ad Att.* i. 16: *Misera ac jejuna plebecula.* This is the *tunicatus popellus* of Horace (*Ep.* I. vii. 65) and the *plebs* of Sallust, who live from hand to mouth . . . *cui omnes copiae in usu quotidiano et cultu corporis erant* (*Cat.* 48), who prefer *urbanum otium ingrato labori*,—a hungry rabble, depraved in manners, extravagant in hopes, *homines egentes, malis moribus, mazuma spe*, whose minds are filled with envy, *bonis invident*; it is a class recruited from all that crime and disgrace drive from neighboring cities to cast into Rome, as into the sewer of the world, *quos flagitium aut facinus domo expulerat, hi Romam sicut in sentinam confluerant* (*Cat.* 37).

⁷ *De Fin.* ii. 20.

⁸ The *Tragic Jupiter*, 53.

law, and the *Lex Porcia*, that no citizen should be beaten with rods or put to death.¹

The urban populace, then, was held in great contempt in the capital of the Empire, except on days of popular tumult, without, however, any special scheme of penalties being established for it, up to the last days of the Republic.² It was to be expected that the Empire, so long represented as a crowned democracy, would elevate the plebeians; but, governed by an absolute ruler, administered by an aristocratic body, it left them where it found them. Nor was any greater interest manifested in the provincial cities in establishing equality, a distinction in rank being as much valued there as at Rome. This is shown by the senatorial register,³ where each man's position is marked, with the degree of honor due him; it also appears from inscriptions, wherein are enumerated all the offices filled and all the grades obtained.

Below these men who were placed in positions of dignity or had attained fortune and property in land,⁴ we find those who lived by the labor of their hands. Definite statements are wanting to prove that on days of comitia these successors of the old *aerarii* were placed in an inferior position; but all probabilities are in favor of this opinion. Chapter viii. of the *Table of Heracleia* contains the long list of those who are incapable of holding office in a municipium, and among this number are all the *humiliores* mentioned in the *Digest*. Inscriptions show in cities, in the first and second centuries of our era, the popular assemblies divided into curiae, which sometimes were subdivided, as in the very earliest times, into sections of *seniores* and *juniores*. If our information were more complete, we should doubtless find classes; for the census which served to form them had been instituted wherever the Romans carried their sway. In the municipal law Caesar took pains to renew the injunction to the magistrates of the Italian cities to make the census in accordance with the form which would be sent them from Rome, one question of which referred to the property of the individual whose name was entered. It was so habitual to fill out this schedule that inscriptions usually make answer to all the questions of the formula, one alone excepted,—that

¹ Livy, x. 9. We see in Cicero (*Pro Caecina*, 35) how in case of certain crimes the Porcian law was eluded.

² The triumvirs, Octavius, Antony, and Lepidus, established such a scheme when they decreed that the common man who did not celebrate Caesar's birthday should be punished with death, while any senator or senator's son should merely pay a fine of 250,000 drachmas (Dion, xlvii. 19). Here we have the beginning of the legislation which later was developed.

³ For example, in that of Canusium, which we still have (Mommsen, *Inscr. Neap.* 635), and in that of Thamugas, which has been lately found.

⁴ . . . *Potiores, id est possessores, opponuntur inferioribus vel plebiis* (*Theod. Code*, xi. 15, 2).

concerning fortune; but it is quite natural that on a tombstone the fortune of the dead man should not be stated.¹

We have seen that at Rome the citizens were classified according to monetary position in the last two centuries of the Republic; that is to say, at the time when the provincials were copying the institutions, the customs, and even the fashions of the Eternal City. We know that to attain the office of decurion there was required, as to enter the Roman Senate, an amount of property determined by law.² This obligation imposed upon their subjects characterizes the timocratic revolution that the Romans brought about in all the Greek and Oriental world, — a revolution also accomplished by Athens twice over in the time of the Peloponnesian war.³ Cicero advises his brother to maintain these distinctions scrupulously in the latter's province of Asia; and two centuries and a half later, the younger Pliny congratulates himself on seeing them preserved.⁴ Augustus, in fact, had made no change in these customs. His first care after the battle of Actium was to organize the Roman world into a vast hierarchy, whose different grades were marked by the fortune necessary in order to aspire to them. It is not, therefore, to be wondered at that the more important municipia had, like Rome, some in one way, some in another, their different orders of citizens, the *classici* and the *infra classem*,⁵ — a custom so general that it had passed from public into private life, where a man ranged his clients and friends in categories of first, second, and third degree (*tribus classibus factis*).⁶ At the foot of the social scale were the famished (*λιμουργοί*), — dyers, shoemakers, carpenters, etc., whom Dion Chrysostom found at Tarsus in great numbers, and whom he considers as outside of the city.⁷ This was the *plebs urbana*, separated from the true population of *possessores* (*δῆμος*), and no less despised in the provinces than they were at Rome.

Montesquieu, imitating Cicero, says: "Laws are not made, they are

¹ The formula required: *Nomina, praenomina, patres aut patronos, tribus, cognomina et quot annos quisque eorum habet, et rationem pecuniae* (Table of Heracleia, C. xi.). See in the *Index* of Henzen, p. 112, the indication of numerous inscriptions relative to *legati Aug. pr. pr. ad census accipiendos* and to *censitores*.

² Pliny, *Epist.* i. 19, and possibly Catullus, 23. It was certainly so in Sicily, where, according to Cicero (*In Verr.* ii. 2, 49), the citizens were divided into classes *ex genere, censu, aetate*. The census was the basis of all Roman and municipal administration.

³ Thucydides, viii. 67; Xenophon, *Hellen.* II. iii. 18. A certain fortune was needed to obtain office in Thessaly and in Achaia (Livy, xxxiv. 51; Pausanias, vii. 16); Gabinius established this rule in Judaea (Joseph., *Ant. Jud.* XIV. v. 4: *ἐν ἀριστοκρατίᾳ διηγόν*; cf. *Bell. Jud.* i. 8), etc. In respect to the aristocratic changes which took place in Athens during the Empire, see A. Dumont, *L'Ephébie attique*, i. 153-156.

⁴ Pliny, *Epist.* viii. 24; Cic., *Ep. ad Quint.* i. 1.

⁵ Aulus Gellius, vii. 13.

⁶ Suet., *Tib.* 46.

⁷ Πλήθος οὐκ ὀλίγον ὥσπερ ἔξωθεν τῆς πολιτείας (*Disc.* ii. 43, 45, ed. Reiske).

discovered," — which means that they are what the moral condition of the period calls for. It has therefore been necessary to show that from one end of the Empire to the other existed a respect for wealth and a love of social distinctions, for the reason that such a state of public opinion indicates in advance that in this community the poor man, held at first in great contempt, is very likely to end by being subjected to great severities.

But how was the transition made from the former condition to the latter? How did men pass from the early equality before the law to the terrible inequality which is proved by this division of the whole free population into two categories much resembling the nobles and serfs of the Middle Ages? This is the first point to be elucidated. I shall then endeavor to see if it is possible to trace a distinct line of demarcation between the two classes.

C.

IN Rome at its best nothing distinguished one citizen from another. The ownership of land had the same character for all; and from the time of the Twelve Tables, the *Lex Canuleia*, and the free admission of plebeians to the magistracies, birth secured no further privileges, unless it were eligibility to some religious functions. In a word, if the rich man regarded with contempt those who dragged out beneath him their miserable existence, and if the poor man regarded with envy the prosperity of the great, still, no legal distinction whatever existed between these two classes; while between the lowest of the citizens of Rome and the most illustrious provincial a very wide one was made. The man, whether rich or poor, enjoying the *jus civitatis* was able to escape from a death-sentence by voluntary exile; while at the governor's tribunal the provincial, whoever he was, might be condemned to the most cruel punishments. Thus under the Republic the *civis* and the *peregrinus* are in the situation where, under the Empire, we find the *honestior* and the *humilior*: the point to be explained is, by what metamorphosis the *plebeius homo*, Roman citizen though he was, became liable to the same penalties with the *peregrinus*, and remained thus subject after the *peregrini* had ceased to be a class recognized by the law.

The numerous concessions of citizenship made by the Republic had secured its prosperity, giving it that broad and solid base of a numerous military population which had been lacking to Sparta and Athens, to Tyre and Carthage. This policy, after having been the Senate's rule, became that of the Emperors. Formerly the citizenship was given with or without the right of suffrage, with or without the right *adipiscendorum in Urbe*

honorum. It was this latter right that was granted to the inhabitants of the transalpine countries. In the year 48 A. D. the notables of Gallia Comata, who had for a long time been citizens, solicited the right to enter the Roman Senate. The Fathers refused, feeling that they had done enough in opening the sovereign curia to the Veneti and the Insubres.¹ Claudius caused a more liberal opinion to prevail; the right claimed was first accorded to the Aeduans, and later to many other peoples, — Egypt being the last country that obtained it.²

Thus, while the *jus civitatis* was propagated in the Roman world, there still was kept up between the old citizens and the new the barrier which existed before the Licinian laws between the patricians and plebeians, — the same which had so long separated the *Quirites* from the *Socii*. Since then we see, about the time of the fall of the Republic or the beginning of the Empire, — that is to say, at the period when the great concessions of citizenship were made, — the intention to maintain, in the matter of eligibility to public honors, a distinction between citizens Italian born and those who were provincials, it is not impossible that, in the same spirit, a distinction may have been made at that time, in the mass of Roman citizens, between the *honestiores* and the *humiliores*. We shall endeavor to show how this was accomplished.

The citizenship, given as it was to multitudes, became at once degraded, like any honor too lavishly bestowed; and the Roman world found itself in danger of a confusion to which it was especially antipathetic, when the juriconsults, so skilful in adapting the old legal usages to new conditions, re-established by degrees in the law the distinction which the general sentiment of the community required.

This change took place slowly. The words high and low, *honestiores* and *humiliores*, which belong to the Latin language of all epochs, are, as a juridic distinction of two classes subjected to different laws, of a comparatively modern date. They are not found in the inscriptions, naturally enough, and we know that they were not in the early penal laws of Rome. But a republican institution established by the Gracchi and Cato, and preserved by Caesar, who regulated it, — I mean the distribution of corn at a reduced price, — caused the entering in public registers of the names of all the poor of Rome, and brought back, under a new form, the ancient comitial differences which had disappeared with the comitia. Those who, to the number of one hundred and fifty thousand at first,³ and of two hundred thousand under Augustus,⁴ gave in their names to receive

¹ Tacitus, *Ann.* ii. 23.

² In the third century (Dion, li. 17).

³ Suetonius, *Caes.* 41; cf. Dion, xliii. 71.

⁴ *Mon. of Ancyra*, 15. See, in the first section of the *Lex Julia municipalis*, the precautions taken for the entering of the names in *tabula*, in *albo*.

the alimentary *tessera*, composed that class of citizens whom the *Testament* of Augustus calls, in the Latin text, *plebs urbana*, and in the Greek version, *ὄχλος*, or the multitude.¹ The jurists therefore found in the capital of the Empire a legal basis for establishing anew those distinctions for which the Romans had an inveterate liking; and from Rome this custom, like all others, rapidly spread throughout the provinces.

A *Lex Julia de vi* determined those whose testimony could be received in courts of justice.² Labeo, under Augustus, prohibited the prosecution of fraud to the *humilis adversus eum qui dignitate excellit*; and he explained thus: *Put a plebeio adversus consularem receptae auctoritatis, vel luxurioso atque prodigo, aut alias vili, adversus hominem vitae emendationis*.³ From this period equality before the law ceases, therefore, for a part of the citizens,—for those whom Augustus calls *plebs urbana*, and Labeo, *plebei homines*; but this inequality is determined by moral conditions,—*vita emendatior*; and Julianus, in the time of Hadrian, uses language similar to that of Labeo.⁴

Meanwhile Rome goes on increasing; the city becomes a world. Claudius numbers seven million citizens, representing a population of twenty-eight million souls, and the Flavii and the Antonines continually add to this number. The Roman people is an immense multitude, wherein innumerable individuals are worthy to figure in the *plebs urbana* of Cicero. At Oriculum this *plebs* seems even separated from the main body of citizens: *cives et plebei*, says an inscription.⁵

Claudius, who testifies so much esteem for the provincial aristocracy, carries his contempt for the Roman multitude so far that he has them driven from the Forum before he will pronounce from the rostra the form of public prayers designed to ward off a threatening danger: *summota operariorum turba*.⁶ This exclusion from the sacred rites, which on a solemn

¹ Augustus bequeathed to the Roman people 40 million sesterces; *tribubus*, that is to say, to the frumentary *plebs*, 3,500,000 (Suet., *Aug.* 101). Tiberius made a similar distinction; he left legacies *plerisque*, that is to say, to many senators and knights, then to the vestals, to the higher class of citizens, *magistris vicorum*, to all the soldiers, and, lastly, *plebi Romanae*.

² *Dig.* xxii. 5, 3, sect. 3. Nearly four centuries later Constantine repeats: . . . *Honestioribus potius fides habeatur* (*Theod. Code*, xi. 39, 3).

³ *Dig.* iv. 3, 11, sect. 1. Tacitus establishes the following classes among the Roman population: 1, *patres*; 2, *primores equitum*; 3, *pars populi integra et magnis domibus adnexa, clientes libertique*; 4, *plebs sordida simul deterrimi servorum* (*Hist.* i. 4). In the *Annales* (xiii. 48) he mentions a riot at Puteoli between the common people (*multitudo*) on the one side, and the rich on the other (*ordo, magistratus, et primi*).

⁴ *Dig.* xliii. 30, 3, sect. 4.

⁵ Orelli, No. 3,857.

⁶ He also had the slaves driven away. The artisans therefore were already, in the eyes of the Emperor, very much like the slaves, with whom they were shortly to be classed by the penal law (Suet., *Claud.* 22).

occasion thus placed the poor outside of fellowship with the rich, is a significant fact; and as every decision of the Emperor made a law, this sort of religious excommunication sufficed to place the citizen of low condition, the artisan, in a class by himself. Under the Flavians he had come to be so regarded at Tarsus, where on occasion of a vote the artisans were expelled from the agora.¹

This title of Roman citizen, once so illustrious, is still respected by the imperial officials in the provinces, as we see in the case of Saint Paul, who was saved by his plea of citizenship from the fury of the Jews at Jerusalem. At Rome the absolute power, which in the case of the great usually consents to employ the forms of law, shows itself towards the multitude in all its brutality. The madman Caligula had caused men *honesti ordinis* to be thrown to wild beasts.² Nero, at first more scrupulous, dares not punish a senator who sleeps while the Emperor's "divine voice" resounds in the theatre; but he takes no pains to know whether the luckless auditor who applauds too faintly is or is not a citizen, ordering him to be dragged from his seat and immediately beaten with rods: *tenuioribus statim irrogatu supplicia*.³ Hadrian, the administrator of justice, holds the title of citizen in no higher esteem than does Nero, when one of the *proletarii* is concerned. In his presence a son disowns his mother that he may not be compelled to divide his *congiarium* with her. "If you persist," the Emperor says, "I shall no longer consider you a citizen."⁴

D.

OF the six jurisconsults who employ in the collection of the *Digest* the words *honestior* and *humilior*, Gaius,⁵ Paulus,⁶ Ulpian,⁷ Callistratus,⁸ Marcian,⁹ and Macer,¹⁰ the eldest, Gaius, holds always to the principle of Labeo. "The penalty," he says, "is determined by the nature of the offence, by the place where it is committed, by the person who suffers from it, such as a magistrate or a senator."¹¹ Meanwhile the terms employed

¹ Dion Chrysostom, *Disc.* ii. 43 (edit. Reiske).

² Suet., *Cat.* 27.

³ Tac., *Ann.* xvi. 5.

⁴ *Dosithei Fragm.* sect. 14; ap. Böcking.

⁵ *Inst. Comm.* iii. 225.

⁶ *Sent.* v. 4, sect. 10; 19, sect. 1; 21, sect. 2; 22, sect. 2; 30 B; *Dig.* xlvii. 12, 11.

⁷ *Dig.* i. 18, 6, sect. 2; ii. 15, 8, sect. 23; iv. 3, 11, sect. 1; xxvi. 10, 1, sect. 8; 3, sect. 16; xliii. 33, 3, sect. 4; xlvii. 9, 12, 1; 18, 1, sections 2, 3, 6, and fr. 7, sect. 2.

⁸ *Dig.* xlviii. 19, 28; sect. 2; 38, sect. 3.

⁹ *Dig.* xlviii. 8, 3, sect. 5.

¹⁰ *Dig.* xlviii. 19, 10, 1. Modestinus (*ibid.* 8, fr. 16) speaks also of a distinction established by the penal law between *in honore aliquo positi et qui secundo gradu sunt*.

¹¹ *Inst. Comm.* iii. 225.

become more exact. Labeo does not recognize the same rights to the citizen of good reputation and him of an evil name; Gaius no longer seeks in the moral order the ground of the distinction to be established in respect to the punishment; he will have it more mild for any magistrate, any decurion.

The reason of this is that time advances; the movement of concentration which had taken place at Rome under Augustus and Tiberius, is gaining ground in the provincial cities. The public assembly of the municipium is falling into disuse, the elections are going into the hands of the curia, and the curia itself is about to shut its doors to the plebeian multitude. Already Pliny puts the question to Trajan whether it would not be better to admit to the decurionate the sons of the *honestiores* than the children of the common people, — *honestiorum hominum liberos quam e plebe*.¹ At this period — that is to say, about the year 111 of our era — the separation of the citizens into two classes is therefore formally established. At the same time the double domain of the penal law is not as yet any more rigorously defined than is that of the political law. The great jurisconsult of Hadrian's reign, Salvius Julianus, uses language akin to that employed by Labeo.²

But as the aristocratic character of the city becomes more clearly declared with each successive generation, the poor man sinks lower, the rich rises higher. Then, as the imperial government has need of the latter for administrative services,³ and cares nothing for the former, it flatters the vanity of the wealthy class by rearing a legal barrier between them and the poor. First the privilege of never being condemned to the rod, which the old law allowed only to ex-magistrates of the Latin cities, is granted to all the members of the curia. Still more: the kings of France recruited their *noblesse* by letters patent; the Emperors increased the class of privileged persons by concession of its prerogatives to all who rose to distinction in the cities, *in aliqua dignitate vel in aliquo gradu*,⁴ — vague terms, and applicable to many more individuals than was the term of municipal honor by which the higher magistracies were designated.

These advantages, important in themselves, had another merit which enhanced their value, — the plebeian multitude did not possess them. The

¹ x. 83.

² *Interdictum ex persona . . . constituendum est. Nam si is qui se patrem dicit, auctoritatis, prudentiae, fidei exploratae esset . . . is vero qui controversiam facit, humilis calumniator, notae nequitiae . . .* (*Dig.* xliii. 30, 3, sect. 4). See further, under Antoninus, a passage from the decree of Tergeste, *prout qui meruissent vita atque censu . . . in curiam admitterentur* (Henzen, No. 7,168).

³ The *munera* and the *honores*. The taxes weighing principally upon landed property, — which had to furnish a contribution in money, certain products, and an amount of obligatory labor, — the Emperors were led to concede to the *possessores* privileges of various kinds in return for the burdens heaped upon them.

⁴ Ulpian in the *Digest*, xxvi. 10, 3, sect. 16; and *ibid.* xlvii. 9, 12, sect. 1.

humilis, who had been so long habituated to contempt, and who, moreover, in Rome and in the great cities, lived only by beggary, ceased to be protected by the Porcian Law, and ordinances formerly concerning *peregrini* alone, now officially dealt with him. "The *Lex Cornelia*," says Marcianus,¹ "decreed for assassins and poisoners exile into an island with entire loss of property; but it is now customary to condemn them to death, except when they belong to the class of the *honestiores*;" and Callistratus adds: "Only the *tenuiores homines* may be beaten with rods; this has been expressly decided by the imperial rescripts."²

Thus Emperors, whose names we know not, finally put into words what had been a matter of custom,—erected into law what had been to Labeo a respect for dignity; to Claudius and Pliny a contempt for the beggarly crowd; to Nero a caprice of cruelty; to Hadrian the feeling of a right, which the words of Marcianus, *hodie solent*, authorize us to consider as having recently entered into legal practice.

This legislation once in force, a man having municipal honors, a station or rank in the city, no longer was one of the multitude; and the jurists contrast the plebeian with the magistrate, *qui in plebeio, qui in honestiore*.³ To strengthen this contrast, it was decided even that a plebeian could not become a decurion. This is expressly said by Paulus and Ulpian.⁴ Each city therefore had, as the Rome of the kings had had, its privileged people, *populus*, and its disinherited multitude, *plebs*, whom the political and the penal law separated from one another.

This *plebs* of the new era falls far lower than that of early days; for the Empire subjects it to severities which the Republic had employed against slaves only. The penalties pronounced by the Cornelian laws *De Falso* and *De Sicariis* were death to the slave, and deportation to the citizen;⁵ the imperial code maintains the same gradation between the *humilior* and the *honestior*. It would seem that this revolution must have excited sharp opposition,—no greater, however, than did the suppression of the comitia at Rome; for the reason that social conditions had produced it before it was sanctioned by the laws.

Meanwhile certain plebeians who had become wealthy were permitted, like the new men in republican Rome, to obtain seats in the Senate.⁶

¹ *Dig.* xlviii. 8, 3, sect. 5.

² *Id principalibus rescriptis specialiter exprimitur* (*Dig.* xlviii. 19, 28, sect. 2). An exception was made in the cases of crimes regarded as infringements of the law concerning treason: *Cum de eo crimine quaeritur, nulla dignitas a tormentis excipitur* (Paul., *Sent.* v. 29).

³ Ulpian in the *Dig.* xlviii. 18, 1, sect. 2. He says further: *Homo honestioris loci* (*Dig.* ii. 15, 8, sect. 23).

⁴ *Dig.* l. 2, 7, sect. 2: . . . *Decurionum honoribus plebei fungi prohibentur*.

⁵ *Inst.* iv. 18, sect. 7.

⁶ *Neque populus ademptum jus questus est* (Tac., *Ann.* i. 15).

By the very development of social life, by the need of keeping the curia full, by imperial concessions of immunities, the number of citizens added to those who were *in aliqua dignitate vel in aliquo gradu*, must ever increase. Thus we may consider as sharing in the advantages of the *honestiores* before the law: the *Augustales*, so often mentioned next to the decurions,¹—persons who held a life-priesthood; the *Mercuriales*, mentioned in many inscriptions after the *Augustales* and before the people;² lastly, the *possessores*, or landed proprietors, who in the third century were sometimes called to deliberate with the Senate.³ These privileged persons doubtless formed the second order, which is often referred to, *uterque ordo*, and, united with the decurions, constitutes what was called in France from 1815 to 1848 *le pays légal*. In both cases the frontier of this *pays* was guarded by the treasury, and men entered only on producing the tax-gatherer's receipt; for the right was determined by the property-valuation. The privileged class of the earlier time, however, less exclusive than it was in our country, opened its ranks to men of the liberal professions and to soldiers; the veterans who had obtained the *honesta missio*, and physicians and teachers, were not included in the class of the *humiliores*.⁴

Outside of this *pays légal* were found in the country the colonist or field-laborer; in the cities, the artisan and the freedman (all three the ancestors of the mediæval serfs), and even the small trader⁵ (*qui utensilia negotiatur*).

Certain *possessores*, however, were scarcely better off than was the day-laborer: the artisan came near the petty proprietor, and traders, becoming prosperous, bought houses or lands, so that they should be no longer regarded as traders, but as land-owners. As the facile methods employed in the Middle Ages—birth, or tenure of land—were not in use under the

¹ . . . *Viritim divisit decurionibus et augustalibus et curiis n. XXVIII.* (Orelli, No. 3,740). The *Seviri Augustales* are even associated with the decurions: *ordo decurionum et sevirum Augustalium* . . . (*ibid.* 775); and we read in the *Theodosian Code*, xi. 15, 2: *Potiores id est possessores opponuntur inferioribus vel plebeiis*.

² Orelli, Nos. 135, 2,420, where a *magister Mercurialis* is mentioned. Cf. Henzen's *Index*, p. 168. In the inscription No. 3,858 of Orelli, the son of a Roman knight, patron of the city of Rudiae gives the municipium a sum, of which the annual revenue is to be distributed, *viritim*, in the following manner: twenty sesterces to the decurions, twelve to the *Augustales*, ten to the *Mercuriales*, seven to the people individually, *populus*.

³ Inscriptions often read: . . . *Ordo possessoresque* (Orelli, No. 3,734), and even *Ordo possessorum* (*ibid.* No. 5,171). In others we find: *Uterque ordo*, as at Valentia (*C. I. L.* vol. ii. *ad h. l.*). According to Ulpian, the appointment of physicians is intrusted in the cities *ordini et possessoribus*.

⁴ *Dig.* xxvii. 1, 6, sect. 8. This is quoted from a rescript of Antoninus. Cf. Philostratus, *Vitæ Soph.* i. 8, 2; ii. 30.

⁵ *Eos qui utensilia negotiantur et vendunt licet ab aedilibus caeduntur* . . . (Callistratus, in the *Digest*, l. 2, 12).

Empire, it happened that the two classes, separated by the penal law, were blended on the juridic ground where the judge was to place them. Therefore it became necessary to seek for a rule, equally required by the magistrate's conscience and by the alarm of the person accused, since if his condition were underrated, he might be condemned to some frightful punishment, instead of suffering a penalty comparatively light.

E.

Two sections of the *Digest* — one upon the mark of disgrace imposed by the censor,¹ the other upon incapacity to prosecute in court² — will perhaps aid us in finding this limit.

In respect to penal condition, those branded with infamy (*notantur infamia*) were naturally placed among the *humiliores*, and their names were upon the police registers. In this class are enumerated the soldier expelled from the army, the adulterer, the bigamist, even the husband who tolerates his wife's infidelity,³ persons keeping houses of ill-fame, practising the small trades, and living by the theatre or the games of the circus.⁴ An exception is made in favor of Greek athletes, because these men fight "for honor."⁵

In the other section is indicated the legal incapacity of those whom a judicial sentence or their occupation brands with infamy (*propter proprium delictum*); those who seek shameful gains, even individuals who have received money for accusing or for not accusing (*propter turpem quaestum*); lastly, the poor, says Hermogenianus (*propter paupertatem*).⁶

In making poverty a cause of disgrace Rome was faithful to the policy which had influenced Severus in constituting the centuriate assembly, where the preponderance went with fortune; Augustus, in fixing a property qualification for the Senate, the equestrian order, and the *duce-*

¹ *Dig.* iii. 2. It is to be observed that this section, prepared by the jurisconsults of Justinian, is only the development of a part of the eighth section of the *lex Julia municipalis*, promulgated by Caesar in the year of Rome 709, in which are enumerated cases of unworthiness to obtain the decurionate. For an infraction, the penalty was fifty thousand sesterces for the use of the people.

² *Dig.* xxii. 5, 3, sect. 3; cf. *ibid.* xlviii. 2, *De Accusationibus*.

³ *Ibid.* xlviii. 5, 2.

⁴ *Qui artis ludicrae pronuntiandive causa scaenam prodierit* (*Dig.* iii. 2, 1).

⁵ *Virtutis enim gratia hoc facere* (*ibid.* iii. 2, 4).

⁶ *Dig.* xlviii. 2, 8, and 10. In the early constitution of Rome the proletary was the man who had not the eleven thousand *ases* of Livy, the twelve and a half *minae* of Dionysius of Halicarnassus, or the four hundred drachmas of Polybius. He was excluded from the legions, and served on board ship with the galley-slaves. The persistence of the Roman tradition is apparent, which from first to last kept the poor man in a condition of inferiority.

narii; and the municipia, in selling to the highest bidder their offices, their honors, and even their citizenship. It will not appear rash, therefore, to apply to the penal law the criterion which, after having been applied to the political law, served the judicial law also, and to believe that the man declared unworthy of appearing in court as an accuser must, when he came thither as an accused person, have been regarded as unworthy of the alleviation accorded to rank, public station, and wealth.

In practice there could be no doubt as to those excluded for the first two causes; the registers of police gave their names. But where should poverty begin? The same juriconsult replies: "Below the fifty aurei,—*ut sunt qui minus quam quinquaginta aureos habent.*"¹ If the diminution of civic rights incurred by the poor tended to place him in the position where his poverty naturally ranked him, among the *tenuiores*, we have, in the fragment of Hermogenianus, the legal rule which we seek, and which all the tribunals in the Empire required. He, therefore, who, in the third century, possessed more than fifty aurei, had no occasion to fear in court, before the trial, the application of torture, or, after the decision, crucifixion, the wild beasts, or the mines,—all penalties reserved for the same crimes when committed by persons who possessed less than that amount.² To ascertain whether an accused person were in the category of the *pau-peres*, it was only necessary to examine the registers of the census, as for the *infami* search was to be made in the police registers. Everything was in due form; and the luckless criminal condemned to the wild beasts because of his poverty might indeed curse the law, but had no cause of complaint against his judge.

Another question then presents itself: If poverty was considered to begin below fifty aurei, was not the class of *humiliores* a very large one?

Fifty aurei³ (that is, \$230 to \$250) was an amount which must have been rarely possessed by a Roman plebeian. At the present day the free laborer is not hampered by the rivalry of the slave, and the means of

¹ *Dig.* xlviii. 2, fr. 9. This sum of fifty gold pieces is also mentioned in an ordinance of Valentinian's (*Codex Just.* i. 55, 1), which authorizes the *defensores civitatis* to judge cases *tenuiores ac minusculariae usque ad 50 solid. summam*. This was plainly then the legal limit of poverty.

² In accordance with one article in the *Theodosian Code* (*de Dec., lex* 33), those who possessed 25 *jugera*, or, according to another (*Nov. Valent.* iii. tit. 3, sect. 4), 300 *solidi*, might be called to complete the *ordo*, in order to fill *munera civilia*. These two sums, 300 *solidi* and 50 aurei, appear to have indicated the minimum necessary to take a place among the *honestiores*,—the latter the maximum which must be reached to emerge from the *humiliores*. The space between was doubtless occupied by the small *possessores*. At Tarsus the title of full citizen cost 500 *drachmae* (Dion Chrysostom, *Disc.* ii. 43).

³ Under the Flavians and the Antonines, \$216 according to Mommsen; \$239 according to Dureau de la Malle; \$259 according to Friedländer. For the third century Mommsen reduces by one sixth the value of the aureus, which brings the 50 aurei of Hermogenianus down to \$180.

acquiring a little property are easy and numerous. However, the Report on Primary Instruction of March 5, 1865, states, from the documents of the Ministry of Finance, that nearly one million seven hundred thousand Frenchmen were not liable to the poll-tax and the tax on personal property, owing to their state of destitution, although they were not classed as paupers, as were one million five hundred thousand other heads of families. We find, therefore, in the country where wealth is the most evenly distributed, three million two hundred thousand individuals, or nearly one third of the male population over twenty years of age, whom the Roman law would have ranked as *humiliores*.¹ To double this proportion would certainly not be sufficient; and we do not go too far in saying that the plebs included the larger part of the Empire. A text of Callistratus authorizes us to make this assertion. "Those citizens who are not liable to the rod," he says, "have a right to the same privileges with the decurions."² These words by themselves indicate that a very small number of persons had the privilege of escaping from the great severities of the penal law, and we know that the political law prohibited the *humiliores* from aspiring to hold any office in the city.

F.

To conclude, the Roman world, governed at first by an aristocracy of birth, and afterwards by an aristocracy of wealth, never had anything but contempt for the poorer citizens, even in the noblest days of republican equality. Neither was there equality for the free men of the provinces after citizenship had been conceded to them. The Empire quickly effaced the distinction established by the Republic between the *civis* and the *peregrinus*, but created another between the rich and the poor; and at both times the larger part of the inhabitants of the Roman world remained marked by the law with the sign of civic degradation.

The facts set forth above give place, further, for certain observations.

First, it appears why, notwithstanding their multitude, these *plebei homines* did not form that powerful democracy who are credited with having sold to the Caesars the liberty of the world; and why their political rôle

¹ M. Engel-Dollfus, in his book on *Collective Assurance* (1876), reckons at from \$270 to \$288 the average value of a working-man's capital. But this valuation has appeared too high to many writers on political economy. In his projects of life assurance, Prince Bismarck considered the laboring-man, whose annual wages did not amount to more than 750 marks (\$178.50), as exempt from contributing. In this case the employer and the state would bear the expense of the insurance.

² *Omnes qui fustibus caedi prohibentur eandem habere honoris reverentiam quam decuriones habent* (Dig. 19, 28, sect. 2).

was limited to crying *Panem et circenses!* or to dragging to the Gemoniae the dead body of a Sejanus or a Vitellius.

Further, we are able to see that with the *humiliores*,—plebeians of the city, and agricultural laborers in the country,—whose condition grew worse as public misfortunes increased, the Emperors were to bequeath to the Middle Ages one of the constituent elements of their social organization; namely, the immense multitude of serfs.

Lastly, it is just to attribute to Roman ideas and manners, much more than to the imperial policy,—at least that of the first two centuries,—the reducing of the plebs to that low condition in which it lost all patriotism, and the elevation of that *noblesse* of wealth and office which was very capable of oppressing the Empire, but absolutely incapable of defending it. From the third century on, this fatal policy became a settled plan of government; up to that time it had manifested itself only by the latent action of public manners slowly undermining municipal institutions. In the time of the Caesars and Flavians, and later yet under the Antonines, there were indeed two separate peoples within the Empire, but they were separated only by fortune,—a mobile and changing thing, which intelligence, a spirit of command, and favoring circumstances can give, or the contrary can take away. Consequently, in the space which at first separated the *honestior* and the *humilior*, there was no insurmountable barrier; the penal law after a time placed its severities there, as the political law had so often placed its exclusions; but the highest honors of the city and the state remained accessible to all who knew how and were able to rise. This explains the existence and the prosperity of the Empire with such a *régime*, so long as this movement was not arrested by “the divine hierarchy” of Constantine.

To conclude, we are obliged to modify the opinion that many writers have formed concerning the concession of citizenship to all the subjects of the Empire,—an opinion still held by many. This act has been represented as the effect of a liberal policy which was tending towards equality; it has been said that this great and humane measure had produced a general levelling. But the idea is one which must give place to that of Saint Augustine, who shows an unexpected result from this imperial constitution,—namely, the right allowed the poor of the provincial cities to claim their share in the gratuitous distributions.¹

¹ See above, Vol. VII. p. 82.

II.

THE TRIBUNI MILITUM A POPULO.¹

A.

A CERTAIN number of inscriptions mention, in the last days of the Republic and in the first century of the Empire, *tribuni militum a populo*. Of these, the following are the most important:—

No. 1.

M · HOLCONio · m · f
RVFO · II · VIR · i · d
QVINQ · TR · MIL · a · p
FLAMINI · CAES · Aug
QVINTIO · L ·

M(arco) Holcon[io, M(arci) f(ilio)], Rufo, duumviro [i(ure) di(cundo)] quinq(uennali), trib(un)o mi[l(i)um a p(opulo)], flamini Caes(aris A[ug(usti)], Quintio l(ibertus (?))]

Pompeii, inscription found in the forum in 1861 (Fiorelli, *Catal. del mus. di Nap.* No. i. 1,298). It is broken on the right side, but easily to be restored from the context.

No. 2.

M · HOLCONIO · RVFO · D · V · I · D · IIII · QVINQ.
TRIB · MIL · A · POPVLO · AVGVSTI · SACERDOTI
EX · D · D

M(arco) Holconio Rufo, d(uum) v(iro) i(ure) d(icundo) quartum, quinquennali, trib(un)o mil(itum) a populo, Augusti sacerdoti, ex d(ecreto) d(ecurionum).

Pompeii (Mommsen, *Inscr. regni Neap.* No. 2,231).

M. Holconius Rufus was dummvir *jure dicundo* for the fourth time in 752 of the city of Rome (2 B.C.), as is proved by another Pompeian inscription,² with A. Clodius Flaccus (see below, No. 4), who was duumvir for the third time.

¹ Paper read before the Academy of Inscriptions and Belles-Lettres, Jan. 29, 1875.

² See Mommsen, *Inscr. Neap.* No. 2,261.

No. 3.

M · HOLCONIO · M · F · RVFO
 TRIB · MIL · A · POPVL · II · VIR · I · D · V
 QVINQ · ITER
 AVGVSTI · CAESARIS · SACERD
 PATRONO · COLONIAE

M(arco) Holconio, M(arci) f(ilio), Rufo, trib(un)o mil(itum) a popul(o), duumvir(o) i(ure) d(icundo) quintum, quinq(uennali) iter(um), Augusti Caesaris sacerdoti, patrono coloniae.

Pompeii, on the pedestal of a statue found near the forum in 1853 (Fiorelli, *Descriz. di Pompej*, 1875, 8vo, p. 167).

No. 4.

A · CLODIVS · A · F
 MEN · FLACCVS · II · VIR · I · D · TER · QVINQ
 TRIB · MIL · A · POPVLO

A(ulus) Clodius A(uli) f(ilius), Men(enia tribu) Flaccus, duumvir i(ure) d(icundo) ter quinq(uennalis), trib(unus) mil(itum) a populo.

Pompeii (Mommsen, *Inscr. Neap.* No. 2,378). This is a long funereal inscription; we give only the three lines enumerating the titles of the deceased.

The detail follows of games and spectacles given by him in each of his duumvirates. We have seen, No. 2, that in the third, which he held in the year 11 B. C., he had as colleague M. Holconius Rufus.

No. 5.

M · TVLLIVS M · F · D · V · I · D · TER · QVINQ · AVGVR · TR · MIL
 A · POP · AEDEM · FORTVNAE · AVGVST · SOLO · ET · PEQ · SVA

M(arcus) Tullius, M(arci) F(ilius), d(uum)v(ir) i(ure) d(icundo) ter, quinq(uennalis), augur, tr(ibunus) mil(itum) a pop(ulo), aedem Fortunae August(ae) solo et peq(uenia) sua (fecit).

Pompeii (Mommsen, *Inscr. Neap.* No. 2,219).

The title of Augusta, given to the Goddess Fortune, proves that this inscription is of a date later than 8 B. C., when Augustus decreed the re-establishment of the worship of the Lares. It probably belongs to the year 2 A. D., another inscription, dated the following year (*Inscr. Neap.* No. 2,223), mentioning the first *ministri* of the temple referred to.

No. 6.

A · VEIO · M · F · II · VIR · I · D
 ITER · QVINQ · TRIB
 MILIT · AB · POPVL · EX · D · D

A(ulo) Veio, M(arci) f(ilio), d(uum)vir(o) i(ure) d(icundo) iter(um), quinq(uennali), trib(un)o milit(um) ab popul(o), ex d(ecreto) d(ecurionum).

Pompeii (Mommsen, *Inscr. Neap.* No. 2,316).

No. 7.

M · LVCRETIO · DECIDIAN
 RVFO · D · V · III · QVINQ
 PONTIF · TRIB · MILITVM
 APOPVLO · PRAEF · FABR
 M · PILONIVS · RVFVS

M(arco) Lucretio Decidian(o) Rufo, d(uum)v(iro) ter, quinq(uennali), pontif(ici), trib(un)o militum a populo, prae(fecto) fabr(um), M(arcus) Pilonius Rufus (posuit).

Pompeii, on the base of a statue (Mommsen, *Inscr. Neap.* No. 2,193; cf. Nos. 2,192 and 2,299).

No. 8.

SEPTIMIAE · L · F · SIL *v a n a e*
 M · ALLIO · M · F · MEN · RVFO
 PRAEF · FABR · CEN · Q · TR · MIL · A · P · E · Q · R
 HVNC · DECVRIONES · GRATIS · IN · ORDINEM · SVum
 ADLEGERVNT · DVVMVIRALIVM · NVMERO
 ORDINEM · ADIIT · PETIITQVE · VT · DECRETO
 QVOQVE · VOLVNTATEM · ESSE · ASCRIB *erent*

Septimiae, L(ucii) f(iliae), Sil[*vanae*].

M(arco), Allio, M(arci) f(ilio), Men(enia tribu), Ruf[o], prae(fecto) fabr(um), cen(sori?), q(uaestori), trib(un)o mil(itum) a p(opulo), e[*q(uiti) R(omano)*]. Hunc decuriones *gratis*¹ in ordinem su[um] adlegerunt duumviralium numero; ordinem adiit petiitque ut decreto quoque voluntatem esse ascrib[erent].

Abellino (Mommsen, *Inscr. Neap.* No. 1,888).

No. 9.

T · POMPVLLIVS · L · F · LAPPA
 II VIR · QVINQ · TRIB · MIL · A · POPVLO
 PRAEF · FABR · EX · TESTAMENTO · ATRIVM
 AVCTIONARIVM · FIERI · ET · MERCVRVM
 AVGVSTVM · SACRVM · PONI · IVSSIT
 ARBITRATV · EPAPHRAE · LIBERTI

¹ *Gratis*, that is to say, without his being obliged to pay the honorarium (*summa honoraria*). Cf. Pliny, *Ep.* x. 112 and 113.

T(itus) Pompullius, L(ucii) f(ilius), Lappa, duumvir quinq(uennalis), trib(unus) mil(itum) a populo, praef(ectus) fabr(um), ex testamento atrium auctionarium fieri et Mercurium Augustum sacrum poni jussit, arbitrato Epaphrae liberti.

Galliano, near Castel-Vecchio, formerly Superaequum (Morcelli, *De Stilo inscr.* i. 143, from the manuscript of Giovenazzi; see Henzen's note, p. 347, on the No. 3,439 of Orelli).

Posterior to the year 8 B. C., as shown by the epithet Augustus given to Mercury; see above, No. 5.

No. 10.

M · MANLIVS · C · F
POLLIO
TR · MIL
A · POPVLO
PRAEF · FABR
CENS · PERP

M(arcus) Manlius, C(aii) f(ilius), Pollio, tri(bunus) mil(itum) a populo, praef(ectus) fabr(um), cens(or) perp(etuus).

Cervetri (Caere). (Henzen, No. 7,084).

No. 11.

M · M^uNATVLEIVS · M · F
a NI · M a RCELLVS
te · mil · A · POPVLO

M(arcus) M[u]natuleius, M(arci) f(ilius), [A]ni(ensi tribu), M[a]rcellus, [tri(bunus) mil(itum)] a populo.

Near Olevano (Borghesi, *Œuvres*, vii. 347).

No. 12.

P · BAEBIO · P · FIL ·
POB · TVTICAVO
TRIB · MIL · A · POPVLO ·
PRAEF · EQ · PRO · LEG ·
PONTIFICI · III · VIR ·
PLEBS · VRBAN ·
PERMISS · DEC ·

P(ublio) Baebio, P(ublii) f(ilio), Pob(lilia tribu), Tuticano, trib(unus) mil(itum) a populo, praef(ecto) eq(uitum), pro leg(ato), pontiſci, quattuorvir(o), plebs urban(a), permise(u) dec(urionum).

Verona, in the Museum. (Mommsen, *C. I. L.* vol. v. No. 3,334).

This inscription is certainly of a date later than the accession of Augustus, as the title of prolegate did not exist under the Republic.

No. 13.

Q · GAVIVS · Q · F
 AQVILA · DECVRIO
 TR · MIL · A · POPULO
 HORTIA · C · F · SECVNDA
 VXOR
 GAVIA · Q · F · FILIA

Q(uintus) Gavius, Q(uinti) f(ilius), Aquila, decurio, tr(ibunus) mil(itum) a populo;
 Hortia, C(aii) f(ilia), Secunda, uxor; Gavia, Q(uinti) f(ilia), filia.

Aquileia. (Mommsen, *C. I. L.* vol. v. No. 916).

No. 14.

... NORE · AB · DECVRIONIBVS · POPV ...
 ... CVR · TR · MIL · APOPVLO

Corfinium (Mommsen, *Inscr. Neap.* No. 5,370).

Besides these, there are two extremely mutilated fragments, on which the title of which we speak is believed to be decipherable, one found at Acquasparta,¹ the other at Capua;² but up to the present time there has not been discovered in Rome or in the provinces³ any inscription mentioning a *tribunus militum a populo*, and the scholars who have investigated this title have given no satisfactory explanation of the fact.

Mommsen has devoted to this subject several pages of his treatise entitled *Römisches Staatsrecht* (vol. ii. part i. pp. 540–543; Leipzig, 1874). In his judgment these officers are really tribunes of the army, who, besides their military functions, had the character of Roman magistrates, which the popular election gave them.⁴ Not being able to be attached to a particular legion, they remained without employ, and consequently do not indicate in their inscriptions—as we have so many examples—in what legion they served. Mommsen affirms that up to the last days of the Republic, and even under Augustus, the people continued annually to elect twenty-four military tribunes. Of this he gives no other proof than the title borne by the duumvir Holconius in the year of Rome 752; but this is only to answer one question by asking another, since nothing proves that the election of Holconius was made by the Roman people. Mommsen

¹ Marini, *Arval.*, p. 806; cf. Henzen, *Bullet. archéol.* 1860, p. 12.

² Mommsen, *Inscr. Neap.* No. 3,628.

³ Mommsen believes that he has discovered a *tribunus militum a populo* in two extremely mutilated fragments found at Cabra in Baetica, which are known only by early copies (*C. I. L.* vol. ii. Nos. 1,625, 1,626); but his conjecture, admitted with hesitation by Hübner, is not adopted by Léon Renier.

⁴ Cf. *C. I. L.* vol. i. p. 58, sects. 2, 16, 22, concerning the *lex repetundarum*, which is probably of the year of Rome 654.

adds: "In consequence of these annual elections it happened often that these tribunes could not be placed." It seems strange that in the troubled years which preceded the advent of the Empire, when innumerable armies were in the field in the interests of Pompey and Lepidus, of Antony and Octavius, there should not be found a place for all military officers, and that the same condition should continue when Augustus had organized his twenty-five legions, requiring the presence of a hundred and fifty military tribunes. Lastly, this historian asserts, without being able to furnish any proof of it, that these elections ceased at Rome about the year 14 A. D., when Tiberius transferred to the senators the electoral right of the people. No text furnishes the date of the abolition of the law giving the people the right to appoint the military tribunes. But this law had been an act of distrust towards the leaders of armies, and it is not probable that the latter awaited the time of Tiberius before causing it to disappear; it doubtless fell into desuetude at the time when the power passed from the Forum into the camps. The facts quoted by Mommsen to show that the early law was in force up to the time of the Empire do not in reality extend later than the year 90 B. C., and are consequently anterior to the period beyond which this eminently republican institution could not have lasted.

As to the age of our inscriptions, the date of two of them (Nos. 3 and 4) is the year 752 of Rome (2 B. C.); that of a third (No. 5), the year 755 of Rome (2 A. D.),—which places them in the latter part of the reign of Augustus; and the language of them all, destitute of those archaisms which still appear as late as in the *Lex Julia*, gives us reason to suppose them posterior to this law, and authorizes a conjecture which will be presented at the close of this paper.

In conclusion, the learned author of the *Römisches Staatsrecht* offers no demonstration, but merely a conjecture, which, as we shall see, is in contradiction with the general history of Rome in the last days of the Republic. This conjecture, entirely unsupported by facts, is the one which has been offered with slight variations by all the authors who have occupied themselves with this question before Mommsen;¹ namely, that the *tribuni militum a populo* were Roman magistrates and common legionary tribunes who, according to Mommsen, were waiting orders.²

¹ Maffei, *Mus. Veron.* p. 119, No. 5; Morcelli, *De Stilo inscr.* p. 64; Marini, *Arval.* p. 548; Orelli, No. 3,439; Urlichs, *Bulletin de l'Institut. archéol.*, 1839, p. 66; Lange, *Hist. mutat. rei milit. Rom.* p. 46, n. 12; Marquardt, *Handbuch*, vol. iii. part ii. p. 277, n. 1,517. I do not speak of Hultmann, who, supposing a letter missing before the words A · POPVLO, proposes to explain them thus: nA[tus] POPVlo[nia] (*Miscell. épigr.* pp. 170 et seq.).

² The same opinion has been supported by M. Giraud in his paper entitled *Les Bronzes d'Ossuna, nouvelles recherches*. On the other hand, our learned epigraphist, M. Léon Renier, had made this question the subject of one of his lectures at the Collège de France, holding the views here expressed, which have been developed by M. Cagnat, in 1880, in his paper

I shall attempt to prove, —

1. That the military tribunes elected by the Roman people were never called *tribuni militum a populo*;

2. That the election of the military tribunes ceased at the period of the triumviral wars;

3. That the formula *a populo* has reference to a municipal service;

4. That the general history of the Empire shows the necessity of this service;

5. That the character of this office is explained by the bronzes of Ossuna.

Each of these points will now be examined.

B.

For about three centuries Rome had legionary tribunes of two kinds, — the one appointed by the consuls, the other by the people. They were sometimes distinguished as *rufuli* and *comitiati*,¹ — never by designating the latter as *a populo*.

Thus Livy, who mentions elected tribunes seven times,² uses only the expressions *suffragio creari*, *suffragio fieri*, which Cicero also employs. In a passage of Sallust³ we do indeed find the words *tribunatum militare a populo petebat*; but it refers to Marius addressing the people to solicit the elective tribuneship, and the writer habitually uses this form of expression, *a populo petere*, to solicit from the people such or such an office.

Fronto also recalls the fact that Cato was appointed by the people military tribune, — *a populo factus*.⁴ The construction is the same as in the preceding example; and there is no more reason to detach the words *a populo* from *factus* and unite them to *tribunus*, than it would be to separate them from *petebat* in the sentence of Sallust. Asconius,⁵ who teaches us how the two kinds of tribunes are to be distinguished from each other, knows no other name for them.

After the authors we will interrogate the inscriptions. Very many exist concerning persons who had held high office at Rome, among which offices is mentioned the legionary tribuneship; in no case are the words *a*

entitled *De Municipalibus et provincialibus militibus in imperio Romano*, and are accepted as indisputable by M. Ernest Desjardins (*Comptes rendus de l'Acad. des Inscr.* for 1882, p. 19).

¹ Festus, *De Verborum sign.*, p. 260, edit. Müller, and the Pseudo-Asconius, *Ad Cic. in Verr. act. i. sect. 30*, edit. of Orelli, ii. 14, 2.

² vii. 5; ix. 30; xxvii. 36, 14; xxviii. 27, 14, 42, 21; xliii. 12; xliv. 21.

³ *Jugurtha*, 63.

⁴ *Stratag.* ii. 4.

⁵ Page 142, edit. of Orelli.

populo added to this last-named title, although there is reason to believe that many of them held one of the twenty-four annual positions in the elective tribuneship. We know it, for example, in the case of Marius, whose inscription, preserved at Arpinum, says indeed that he was military tribune, but without adding that this leader of the popular party had owed to the people his first office; so that the phrase is wanting exactly in the place where, according to the old hypothesis, we might most expect to find it.¹ The collection of Orelli alone contains fifty inscriptions relative to tribunes who actually served in the Roman army, and no one of these bears the phrase *a populo*.

Thus authors and inscriptions agree: the tribune in the Roman legions was not called *tribunus militum a populo*.

C.

THE custom of electing the legionary tribunes arose, three hundred and sixty years before the Christian era, from the jealousies of the democracy at a time when, powerful and very suspicious, it would not suffer any important office to exist to which it could not raise its favorites. Patriotism, however, sometimes got the better of party spirit, and in the presence of public danger the popular jealousy held its peace. Thus when the second Macedonian war broke out, which was regarded as serious, a *senatus-consultum* was accepted by the people which permitted the consuls to select all the tribunes. It is not probable that during the sanguinary struggle between Marius and Sylla the military leaders who levied armies in Italy and the provinces without the Senate's orders,—even, like Marius, armies of slaves,—respected the popular right, and awaited, before completing their roster, the elections in the Roman Forum. At the same time, mention is made of the elective tribuneship as late as the year 70 B. C.; but it was for the last time.² A few years later the first and second triumvirates were formed. Caesar, Pompey, and Crassus as the first, Antony, Octavius, and Lepidus as the second, shared among themselves the provinces, the armies, and the senatorial and popular rights. The second triumvirate even assumed constitutional power: *triumviri rei publicae constituendae*. Is it conceivable that these military chiefs received from those

¹ Mommsen, *Inscr. Neap.* No. 4,487. We have two other inscriptions of Marius, found, one at Aretum, the other at Rome (*C. I. L.* vol. i. p. 290, Nos. 32, 33), which are probably of the time of Augustus. At this period no man longer cared for the elective tribuneship, but there were many *tribuni militum a populo* in the Italian municipia and at the very gates of Rome. If their office had been the same with that held by Marius, it is inconceivable why the tribuneship of this old chief of the popular party, inherited as it was by Augustus, his grand-nephew, was never characterized by the same title.

² Cic., *In Verr.* i. 10, 30.

who proscribed them at Rome a part of their legionary officers at a time when, to quote Tacitus, there existed no longer an army of the Roman people (*nulla jam publica arma*)?¹ Augustus, proclaimed *imperator*, becoming supreme chief, and jealous of all the powers existing in the Empire, could not permit the shadow of a doubt to rest upon his exclusive right of appointing to all grades, either personally or through his legates. The army was his security, and it was greatly important to him that in it should be seen and felt no other power than his. The election of military chiefs by the people, even with the discretion which the people at that time used in exercising the rights left to it, was absolutely incompatible with the new organization of the armies, and even with the scheme of the government. Accordingly, after having been in fact suspended during the long years of the civil war, this election must have now been virtually abolished. The elected tribunes could not have outlasted the creation of the *legatus* by Caesar; or if any such system survived, Augustus would have certainly caused its disappearance when he took, in the earliest days of his reign, the title of *imperator*, and formally organized the standing army.

D.

WHEN we compare with one another all the inscriptions that we have, it is difficult to resist the conviction that the *tribunus militum* whom they mention was a municipal dignitary, not an officer of the state. How else explain why Pompeii alone and in a short space of time furnished three of these high officers? If the Roman people went to seek so many chiefs of its legions in this little municipium, how many must it not have asked from Naples, Puteoli, Beneventum, Tarentum, Brundisium,—from all the great Italian cities, wherein we find no mention of them? A legionary tribune was a person of high importance; yet but one of our tribunes is seen to have arrived at office in the state. “We do not see this,” says Mommsen, “because the custom of putting the *cursus honorum* in the inscriptions was still rare.” But these inscriptions, which mention the number of *duumvirates* obtained, and as many as five municipal honors or offices decreed to the same person, would surely have mentioned the offices of state held by the individual, if any such had been given him by the Roman people.

In the earlier inscriptions we do not find mentioned after the title of military tribune the legion in which the officer had served; but it was habitually given under the Empire. Now, this designation of the legion is lacking in all our texts, of which many, if not all, are manifestly of later date than the fall of the Republic. This is not, indeed, a direct proof, but it is a

¹ *Ann.* i. 2.

presumption in favor of the view we hold. Finally, it is strange that, after holding an office which gave access to the equestrian order, the Senate, and the high magistracies, all of these tribunes should stop in their public career at this grade, which promised so much for the future.

The character of municipal functionary very clearly appears in all our inscriptions; for we find in them, mingled with this title of *tribunus militum a populo*, only names of municipal offices, as that of decurion, quaestor, duumvir or quatuorvir, quinquennial, perpetual censor, Augustal, pontiff, augur, or patron of the city. Moreover, had it been a question of state functionaries, the words *a populo* would have been followed by the adjective *Romano*; for every time that we meet the word *populus* alone in inscriptions of colonies and municipia, it is not the Roman people that is designated, but the people of the particular municipium or colony.¹ This is the use of the word *populo* in the title with which we are now concerned; and the title should be translated by the words "tribune of the soldiers of the people (of the colony or municipium)," as the words, II. VIR. AB. AERARIO in an inscription of Lyons,² and in one of Sens,³ should be translated "duumvir of the treasury (of the colony or the *civitas*)." To conclude, the *tribunus militum a populo* was the chief of the military service in the colony or the municipium; and this should not surprise us among the Romans, who were pre-eminently, in Europe, the people of tradition. From the first, the military service had been obligatory for the colonies;⁴ if we had their municipal laws, as we have those of the colony Genetiva Julia, we should find in them a military organization analogous to that of which we shall speak later.

Some of the tribunes mentioned in our inscriptions were *praefecti fabrum*; that is to say, had charge of the workmen attached to the service of a provincial governor. The *praefectus fabrum* had neither military rank nor duties.⁵ He was a private individual, whom the governor or the legate employed to collect laborers for the public works which were not done by the soldiers. He was in certain aspects the agent of the Roman magistrate, and he had for the time a public service,—like our contractors, to whom the Minister of War assigns contracts for supplies or constructions; but he had (as they have not) a public office. However, this post

¹ See notably, Mommsen, *Inscr. Neap.* Nos. 26, 1,486, 2,342, 2,346, 4,059, 4,063, 4,497; Orelli, No. 2,532; Henzen, No. 7,149; Wilmanns, No. 2,216; De Boissieu, p. 160; L. Renier, *Inscr. d'Alg.* No. 2,174; etc.

² De Boissieu, p. 156, and Or.-Henzen, No. 6,931.

³ This inscription, on a bronze plaque, is now in the Museum of the Louvre.

⁴ These words have absolutely the same meaning with the words II · VIR · AERARI, which we find in many inscriptions in Vienna; see Allmer, vol. ii. Nos. 160–167, etc.

⁵ See, in respect to the *praefecti fabrum*, the paper of Borghesi *Sur l'Inscription de Junius Silanus*, in his *Œuvres*, v. 204–209.

of confidence was regarded as an honor, and was mentioned with pride in inscriptions,—as our tradesmen put on their cards, “honored by the patronage” of such or such person of rank, or large company.

Only one of the tribunes in our inscriptions filled a state office,—he of the inscription of Verona,¹ a great and important city, where a military tribune of the people, after having without doubt distinguished himself in his municipal position, under the eyes of the superior authority, was appointed prefect of cavalry in the Roman army, and afterwards prolegate; then, finally, his military career being ended, returned to his native city, where he was elected pontiff and quatuorvir. This is a very natural *cursus honorum*, and one which has been that of many provincials, who, quitting their municipia to fill offices of the general government, and returning home at the expiration of their terms of service, have then received from their fellow-citizens the highest honors of the city.²

It is evident, moreover, that one of these two functions—the tribuneship and the prefecture of workmen—might easily lead to the other; that a governor, for example, would choose to superintend the public works of his province a man having already the habit of command; and, reciprocally, that the city should intrust the care of public order to him who had been the superintendent of a numerous body of workmen.

Finally, this office was habitually given to the most important persons of the city; for we see it belonging to citizens who were afterwards three or four times duumvir, quinquennial, augur, perpetual censor, and even patron of the city.

Such are the conclusions drawn from a candid examination of the inscriptions.

E.

BUT it may be asked, What need existed for a military tribune in the peaceful cities of the Roman Empire?

The Empire, having undertaken to protect its subjects against the Barbarians, and to defend itself against the revolts of its subjects, did no more than this in the first century of the Christian era. Content with guarding the frontiers, and standing ready to crush all insurrections in the interior, it left to the provincials the protection of public order within the limits of their own territory. To repress an outbreak in a city of Liguria, Tiberius sent thither one of the cohorts of the garrison of Rome, and

¹ See above, *Inscr.* No. 12.

² See *Bull. dell' Instit. arch.*, 1851, pp. 136 *et seqq.*; and many other instances could be given.

another which he called from the Cottian Alps,¹—a proof that from Rome out to the frontiers of Italy there was not a soldier. The Jewish king Agrippa said later: “A man of consular rank governs, without one soldier, the five hundred cities of Asia; and twelve hundred legionaries—as many men as Gaul has cities—are enough to secure the obedience of that vast region.”² “Every city,” says M. Naudet in his paper on the *Police des Romains*, “was required to provide for the maintenance of order within its own territory.”³ Each city had its night-commandant. Petronius in many passages of the *Satyricon*, and Apuleius in the *Golden Ass*, allude to this; each city also had its public prison, as Amisus⁴ and Philippi,⁵ etc. In that of Pompeii were discovered four prisoners who, at the moment of the catastrophe, had succeeded in breaking their chains, but were stifled before they could make their escape from the building. Noiodunum (Nyon) had a *praefectus arcendis latroniis*⁶ to drive away brigands; Tarragona, a *praefectus murorum*⁷ to keep the ramparts in good order; a *praefectus orae maritimae* to prevent the descent of pirates:⁸ and all these inscriptions of prefects have the municipal character which we have recognized in those of the *tribunus militum a populo*.

The *Pax Romana* was a verity, and war was indeed abolished for a hundred million of men during more than two centuries; but piracy, which in the Mediterranean has lasted till our own time, flourished.⁹ The naval stations in the Euxine, on the coasts of Syria and Egypt, in the Adriatic and the Mediterranean, and the military precautions taken at certain points on the sea-coast,—*praefectus orae Ponticae*, etc.,—had not succeeded in destroying it.

Brigandage, an endemic evil in the mountainous regions of Italy and its islands, in Spain, Greece, Asia Minor, and Africa, obliged prudent travellers either to go in bands, or to profit by the passage of a Roman magistrate, on his way to his province or returning to Rome, to join his escort. This precaution, however, was not always enough; an officer of the legate of Numidia, sent to superintend the construction of an aqueduct, in the

¹ Suet., *Tib.* 37.

² Joseph., *Bell. Jud.* ii. 16.

³ *Mém. de l'Acad. des sciences morales et politiques*, 2d series, vol. vi. p. 818.

⁴ Pliny, *Epist.* 10.

⁵ *Acts of the Apostles*, xvi. 23.

⁶ Mommsen, *Inscr. Helv.* 119:—

C · LVCCONI · CO r
TETRICI · PRAEFECTi
ARCEN · LATROCin
PRAEFECT · PRÒ · IIVIRo
IIVIR BIS FLAMINIS
AVGVST

⁷ *C. I. L.* vol. ii. No. 4,202.

⁸ *Ibid.*, Nos. 4,138, 4,217, 4,224–26, 4,239, 4,264, 4,266.

⁹ Strabo, XI. ii.; Joseph., *Bell. Jud.* III. ix. 2, etc.; Epictetus, *Dissert.* IV. i. 9.

reign of Antoninus Pius, was attacked on the road, wounded, and plundered by brigands.¹

In the time of Commodus, Maternus, at the head of regularly organized bands, desolated Spain and Gaul.² Even under the least patient of the Emperors, Septimius Severus, a brigand chief was able to gather in Italy a band of six hundred men; and of these highway robbers one attained a notoriety so great that Arrian wrote his biography (Tilloboros³). Claudius, another, who devastated Palestine and Syria, came in search of Severus on one occasion in the costume of military tribune and followed by a troop of horsemen. He saluted the Emperor, kissed him, and disappeared unrecognized after this bravado; nor was any man ever able to lay hands on him.⁴

The physician Galen has a special use for brigands. As many of them were killed, the medical man who chanced to travel was likely to find dead bodies, already in part dissected by the sword, by the teeth of carnivora, or the beak of birds of prey, which, without giving offence to popular prejudice, he could use in his study of anatomy. Accordingly we find Galen travelled much.⁵

Government did indeed from time to time take some energetic measures, — such as the temporary establishment of military posts in Italy by Augustus and Tiberius, and in the time of Tertullian⁶ in all the provinces; the four thousand Jews sent against the brigands of Sardinia; the military expe-

¹ *Inter vias latrones sum passus; nudus, saucius evasi* (Mém. de la Soc. de Constantine, 1868, pl. v.). Notwithstanding the vigilance of Augustus, the extinction of brigandage was neither easy nor complete. Dion (lv. 28) speaks of robber-bands who for three years (5-7 A.D.) desolated Sardinia, of Isaurians who extended their ravages so far that it was necessary to make an actual war against them, and of the Spanish brigand Coracottas, upon whose head Augustus set a reward of 250,000 drachmae (*id.* lvi. 43). Even in the reign of Trajan, Italy offered little security (Pliny, *Epist.* vi. 25). The prank which Marcus Aurelius relates to Fronto (*Ep.* ii. 17) proves, by the terror of the two shepherds, that any traveller appearing suddenly was likely to be suspected of being a robber, — *illi solent, maximas raptationes facere*. Cf. Tac., *Ann.* ii. 85; Suet., *Aug.* 32; *Tib.* 37; Petron., *Satyr.* 111; Proper., *iii.* 16; Juvenal, *Sat.* iii. 305; x. 20; Apul., *passim*; Varro, *De Re rust.* 16, 2: *Multos agros egregios colere non expedit propter latrocinia vicinorum ut in Sardinia . . . ut in Hispania, prope Lusitaniam*; Strabo, v. 5; vi. 16; xii. 7: Κλέων ὁ καθ' ἡμᾶς τῶν λησστηρίων ἡγεμών; Dion Cassius, lxxiv. 2; lxxvi. 10; and Lucian, *Alex.* 3 and 44.

² Herodian, liv. 1.

³ Lucian, *Alex.* 2.

⁴ Dion, lxxv. 2. Severus admitted among causes of legitimate delay in appearing at a fixed time and place, the *incursus latronum* (*Dig.* xxvii. 1, 13, sect. 7).

⁵ *De Anatom. admin.* i. 2, ed. Kühn, vol. ii. p. 221, and iv. 5, p. 385. Celsus had the same idea. As a means of studying anatomy, he indicates *gladiatorem in arenâ, vel militem in acie, vel viatorem a latronibus exceptum, sic vulnerari ut ejus interior aliqua pars aperiatur et in alio alia* (*Praef.* lib. i. p. 10, edit. Targ.). And so he declares dissections unnecessary. In his *De Usu part. corp.*, ed. Kühn, ii. 188, Galen speaks of a Pamphylian brigand who was accustomed to cut off his victims' legs.

⁶ *Apol.* 2: . . . *Latronibus investigandis per universas provincias*. Cf. *Theod. Code*, i. 55. 56; but it is a document of the year 392.

ditions directed from time to time against those of Isauria; and the expedition organized by Septimius Severus to effect the capture of the formidable Bullas. But as a rule, cities and individuals were obliged to provide for their own safety. "The military posts," says M. Naudet,¹ "acted only in repelling the foreign enemy, or crushing menacing sedition or armed brigandage at home when they assumed the proportions of a war against society or an attempt upon the government."

In the smaller cities this police duty was performed by the public slaves or the freedmen of the municipium, who were paid for their services (*annua accipiunt*).² At Amisus it was they who guarded the prison; and slaves of this sort were in number sufficient at Pompeii to be employed in constructing many streets of the city.³ In the larger cities, however, it was necessary to organize the public force regularly. We have the inscription of a *miles Brundisinus*; ⁴ but as this is susceptible of various interpretations, I pass it by. Another speaks of an offering made by the *hastiferi civitatis Mattiacorum*; and this time evidently a municipal troop is spoken of.⁵ Lyons and Nîmes maintained a corps of night-watch (*vigiles*), commanded by a prefect, who had the title of *praefectus vigilum et armorum*, and must, therefore, have had the further duty of taking care of the weapons.⁶ Tarragona, or the province of Tarraconensis, had armed cohorts. We even know the name of a prefect of the fourth cohort, which would give us reason to suppose more, were the number not already so large.⁷ Puteoli, adjacent to Pompeii, had a college of *socii lictores populares denunciatores*,⁸ who certainly did the double duty of the French *sergents de ville*; that is to say, of arrest and of prosecution. In their title we again find, under its adjective form, the word employed in characterizing the *tribuni militum a populo*. It is self-evident that this institution of municipal security must have been imitated, under various names, in all the important cities.

It is true that from the beginning of the Empire the Julian law

¹ In his paper entitled *La Police chez les Romains*, vols. iv. and vi. of the Collection of the Acad. des Inscr.

² Pliny, *Epist.* x. 40.

³ *Familia publica Ameriae* (Orelli, No. 2,428); *Venafri* (Henzen, No. 6,265); *Brundisii* (*Inscr. Neap.* No. 450); *Cordubae* (*C. I. L.* vol. ii. No. 2,644); *Servi publici coloniarum et municipiorum*, passim.

⁴ Henzen, No. 7,161. Henzen says, however, of this soldier: *Miles, ni fallor, est municipalis publicae securitatis caussa delectus*.

⁵ Orelli (No. 4,983) places these *hastiferi* among the *officia municipalia minora*. The inscription is of the year 236.

⁶ Kellermann, *Vigiles Rom.* p. 33, Nos. 24-29, and De Boissieu, *Inscr. de Lyon*, No. 419.

⁷ *C. I. L.*, vol. ii. Nos. 4,138, 4,217, 4,224-4,226, 4,264, and 4,266. In No. 4,202, the prefect of the walls was flamen of the province, and the *conventus provinciae* erects a monument to the *praef. orae maritimae* of No. 4,138.

⁸ Orelli, No. 2,544.

de Vi publica had prohibited the carrying of arms.¹ But by the very terms of the law the order to disarm concerned only individuals. It is not a question of the cities, whose weapons, according to the general usage in Graeco-Latin antiquity, were kept in public depots, as were, even in the Roman camps, those of the legionaries,² and in the Middle Ages those of the city militia of Europe; as are at the present day the arms of the German Landwehr, of the Swiss regiments, and of the French territorial army. The text of Tacitus, speaking of the *publice armis mulctati* of Vienne, confirms this interpretation. Some municipal functionary certainly had charge of the *armamentarium*. The inscriptions of Nîmes give us his name, *praefectus armorum*; the *στρατηγός* of the Greek cities, the *tribunus militum a populo* of the Italian cities, no doubt fulfilled the same duty.

It is certain that in the first century of our era there were weapons in the cities; to this fact the battle between the Pompeians and the men of Nuceria bears witness,—not a riot, but an actual battle, at the close of which many dead and wounded were picked up;³ also, further, the continual hostilities between Lyons and Vienne, which were real operations of war; the armies that Sacrovir and Vindex could raise in Gaul; the arms furnished in great quantity to the Vitellians by the cities of that

¹ *Dig. xlviii. 6, 1: Lege Julia de vi publica tenetur qui arma, tela domi suae, agro in villa, praeter usum venationis, vel itineris, vel navigationis ceperit.* Pompey had already prohibited carrying arms in the city (Pliny, *Hist. Nat.* xxxiv. 39); and Petronius (*Sat.* 82) shows that the prohibition was still in force in his time.

² In the camp there was always an arsenal, *armamentarium*, where the soldiers' arms were kept locked up, and there were *custodes armorum*. (See Henzen, *Index*, p. 143.) When Otho incited revolt among the praetorians against Galba, he ordered *aperire armamentarium* (Tac., *Hist.* i. 38, 80). Tacitus remarks that even among certain Barbarians, the Suiones, for example, weapons were *clausa sub custode* (*Germ.* 44). Under Tiberius the governor of Egypt caused all the weapons belonging to the Alexandrians to be seized and carried into the arsenal (Philo, *In Flaccum*, p. 231 of M. Delaunay's translation). Every three years the governors of Egypt made an examination of all weapons brought into the province, for the purpose of interfering with seditious preparations (*ibid.* p. 232). Important cities had *armorum officinae* (Tac., *Hist.* ii. 82). In respect to the *armamentarium*, see the word in *Dict. des ant.* p. 431, 1-2. "When, in the fourteenth century, in the time of the French king Philip the Long, the deputies of the cities asked to be permitted to repel by force the attempts made to disturb the public peace, the king gave permission for the inhabitants of the towns to organize a militia. These troops were placed under the orders of a captain whom the king appointed in each city, and the weapons were deposited in arsenals (Ordon. of March 12, 1316). At Paris the weapons were also placed in an arsenal, and were only to be taken out when the troops were called on duty. The iron or lead mallets which were used as weapons by those who did not carry the crossbow were also deposited there, whence the rioters of 1381, the *maillotins*, took them by force. In the fifteenth century this precaution was often neglected, and the citizens were allowed to keep their weapons in their houses, for the reason that they were so frequently called out."

³ Tac., *Ann.* xiv. 17: *Probra deinde saxa, postremo ferrum sumpserunt . . . multi . . . trunco per vulnera corpore.*

country, those also that Modena offered to the partisans of Otho.¹ Vienne redeemed herself by the payment of money from pillage and massacre; but all her weapons were taken from her, says Tacitus.²

About the time of the battle of Bedriacum some frenzied enthusiast was able to persuade the Aeduans that he was a god, and gathered about eight thousand men. Autun immediately armed its young men to fight against him.³ A few weeks later all the cities of Campania were at war, some siding with Vespasian, others with Vitellius; and the mountaineers of Liguria were carrying on a contest against the partisans of Otho.⁴ At the same time two great African cities, Leptis and Oea, were at war;⁵ and later the former of the two bravely held out in a siege against the Austuriani.⁶

The free confederated cities, which were so numerous, had preserved their early customs; and in the arsenals of these old fighting republics were certainly kept some of the weapons which they had used in the days of their independence. We know from Ovid⁷ that the people of Tomi were possessed of arms; Juvenal says that the provincials retained them: *spoliatis arma supersunt*;⁸ and Philostratus, that the youth of Tarsus practised throwing the javelin;⁹ Apuleius shows us *pagani* armed, and pursuing robbers whom they arrest, chain, and cast into their Tullianum. Where did the inhabitants of Coptos and of Tentyra find "those swords, those arrows," which they used for each other's destruction?¹⁰ Where did the men of Side obtain arms in the middle of the third century when they so valiantly repulsed an attack of the Goths;¹¹ or the Athenians, who, under Dexippos, drove the Heruli out of Attica, killing three thousand of them;¹² and how was it that each city in the Empire could send Marcus Aurelius the armed men whom he required for his expedition against the Marcomanni?¹³ Finally, a little later, Didius Julianus arrested an invasion of the Chauci in Belgium with the aid of only the provincials called together hastily;¹⁴ and later still, in 363, the inhabitants of Nisibis declined a garrison, feeling themselves able to defend their city against the Persians.¹⁵

¹ Tac., *Hist.* ii. 52.

² *Ibid.* i. 66; in respect to the Aeduans, *ibid.* 64.

³ *Ibid.* ii. 60.

⁴ *Ibid.* ii. 12.

⁵ *Ibid.* iv. 50.

⁶ Amm. Marcellinus, xxviii. 61.

⁷ *Trist.* iv. 1, 73 *et seq.*

⁸ viii. 123.

⁹ *Apoll.* vi. 73.

¹⁰ Juvenal, xv. 23.

¹¹ *Ὡς παρασκευή τε πᾶσα ἦν ἀφθονος* (*Fragm. hist. Graec.* iii. 681, ed. Didot).

¹² *Ibid.* 666. The Ephebeia was still an institution in Athens at this time, and continued its military exercises, with teachers of fencing and fighting. An inscription says that the Ephebi have completed all the military exercises in a manly fashion (*ἐπ'ἀνδρως*). Every year they assembled in the temple of Agraules, swearing to fight and die for their country (Philostrat., *Apol.* iv. 21), and also to watch over public order in the city and country. Cf. A. Dumont, *L'Éphébie attique*, i. 9 and 285. This institution was imitated in other Greek cities.

¹³ J. Capitolin, *Marcus*, 21.

¹⁴ Spartian., *Did. Jul.* 1.

¹⁵ Amm. Marcellinus, xxv. 9, 2.

Certain territories appear to have had a military organization; certain peoples, established in the very centre of the provinces, had national troops commanded by their own officers and maintained at their own expense. Thus the *decuriae* of the Dalmatians,¹ the strategies of Thrace, of Cappadocia, and of Greater Armenia,² have the appearance of being territorial divisions in which military precautions had been taken. When Paulus Aemilius organized the province of Macedonia he authorized the inhabitants of certain districts to maintain a corps of troops for the security of their frontiers; and we know that this province was still, in the second century of the Christian era, governed by the laws which it had received from the conqueror of Perseus.³ The Helvetii had a fortress wherein a troop of their own nation maintained themselves in garrison to protect the country against German marauders;⁴ and the same is true of the Rhaeti, whose youth were trained to arms and military exercises (*sueta armis et more militiae exercita*).⁵ A cohort of Ligurians protected the country around Fréjus (*vetus loci auxilium*);⁶ and it is not certain that this cohort made part of the Roman army,—it seems indeed to have been, with the permission, or rather by the order, of Rome, a national troop levied and maintained by the Ligures to defend permanently the approaches to the maritime arsenal built in their territory. We have seen that similar corps existed in Macedon, among the Rhaetians, the Helvetians, and the Spaniards of Tarraconensis. In Africa a great number of Moorish chiefs were employed to protect the frontier against the Nomads,⁷ and the story of Firmus in Amm. Marcellinus shows the power of these chiefs and the military habits of the natives: this Mauretanian brought into the field twenty thousand men, without counting the powerful reserves that he left behind.⁸ As early as the time of Galba, Mauretania had been able to collect a considerable native troop (*ingens Maurorum numerus*).⁹

In the East the Lyciac body had great privileges. "Formerly," says Strabo,¹⁰ "it deliberated on peace and war and alliances; now it does so only with authorization from the Romans when the latter find it advantageous." Now, it was for the interest of the Romans that peace should prevail in their provinces, and they must frequently have authorized the Lycians to repulse the incessant incursions of their dangerous neighbors, the mountaineers of Pamphylia. But to fight, there must be weapons, chiefs, an organization; and the words of Strabo lead us to believe that the Lycians had all these.

¹ Pliny, *Hist. Nat.* iii. 142.

² *Ibid.* iv. 73; Ptolemaeus, iii. 11, sects. 8, 9, 10.

³ Justin, xxxiii. 2.

⁴ *Castellum quod . . . Helvetii suis militibus ac stipendiis tuebantur* (Tac., *Hist.* i. 67).

⁵ *Ibid.* i. 68.

⁶ *Ibid.* ii. 14.

⁷ See Vol. VI. p. 154.

⁸ Amm. Marcellinus, xxvii. 5.

⁹ Tac., *Hist.* ii. 63.

¹⁰ xiv. 3, sect. 3.

At Palmyra¹ and in Egypt² the chiefs of executive power in the cities bore the name of *strategus*, and the *νυκτερινὸς στρατηγός* of Alexandria had under his orders a corps of *νυκτοφύλακες*.³

What were the *diogmites*⁴ of the province of Asia, those half-armed soldiers (*semiermes*) with whom the governor, in default of legionaries, strove to repulse the bandits of Isauria?⁵ Their name indicates it,—they were pursuers of bandits; and there must have been *diogmites* elsewhere than in this province, since Marcus Aurelius enrolled them for his expedition against the Marcomanni, as in 1870 France enrolled her *sergents de ville* and *gardes forestiers*.

From all these facts we may conclude that in the Early Empire—when matters were not ordered with that regularity which later was given to the municipal *régime*, when the manners and institutions of the period of independence were not yet everywhere effaced—the Caesars left to the colonies, to the municipia, to the free and allied cities their administrative autonomy, with the protection of their territory, and that this latter service was secured in one way or another in the great tributary cities. There were then weapons, prisons, captives to be watched, a police guard to be commanded, bandits to be controlled, recruits to be levied and sent on their way to the legions or the auxiliary cohorts. If the imperial commissioners were intrusted with this latter duty, they had need, in order to fulfil it, as they now have, of the assistance of the municipal authority.

Is it wonderful that certain cities should unite all these functions in the hands of one dignitary, and copying Rome yet once more, as the Italian cities did in the Social War, or preserving the title and usage of an ancient local magistracy,⁶ should call this functionary “tribune of the soldiers” in Italy, “prefect of arms” and “of the cohorts” in the provincial cities of the

¹ De Vogüé, *Inscr. sémit.* p. 89.

² Letronne, *Recherches sur l'Égypte*, p. 268.

³ Strabo, xvii. 797, and Philostrat., *In Flac.* 14.

⁴ From *διωγμός*, which signifies pursuit. It was *diogmites* whom the irenarch sent to seize Saint Polycarp: Ἐξῆλθον διωγμίτας καὶ ἱππεῖς μετὰ τῶν συνηθῶν αὐτοῖς ὅπλων ὡς ἐπὶ ληστὴν τρέχοντες (*Letter of the Church of Smyrna to that at Philomelium*). They were also *diogmites* who brought Saint Athanasius before the Emperor. Cf. Waddington, *Voyage archéol. en Asie Mineure*, on the inscription of Aezani, iii. 255.

⁵ Amm. Marcellinus, xxvii. 9. Marcus Aurelius enrolled brigands also, — doubtless promising them pardon for their crimes.

⁶ The Italians had copied the institutions of Rome, or — which is more probable, and amounts to the same thing — Rome had taken the institutions of Italy. Thus even under the Empire we find in the cities of the peninsula, consuls, dictators, praetors, *interreges*, aediles, censors, tribunes of the people. During the Social War the Italian legions were organized like the Roman, with the same grades and the same designations. When, on the return of peace, they needed nothing more than an officer to guard the municipium and its territory, they would naturally preserve the former military title, in use among them for centuries, with perhaps the double character recognized at Rome in the elective tribunes, of military chiefs and magistrates. (See above, p. 404, note 4.)

West, as at Nîmes and Tarragona, στρατηγὸς ἐπὶ τῶν ὅπλων in the cities of Greece and Asia, which had preserved their ancient institutions?

At Alexandria the commander of the night-watch, called ὁ νυκτερινὸς στρατηγός, held the fourth place among the magistrates of the city; and according to one reading, — disputed, it is true, — this organization existed in the other Egyptian cities.¹

To conclude, the *tribuni militum a populo* of the colonies appears to me the Italian *débris* of a general custom, as the prefects of the West and the *strategi* of the East are its provincial *débris*.

F.

THESE preliminaries were needful to give its full value to the text which remains to be quoted, — a text showing, in a manner which seems indisputable, both the officer and the office. The law of the colony Genetiva Julia, dating from the dictatorship of Caesar, and existing as late as the reigns of the Flavians, — that is to say, the close of the first century, — contains in its Article 103: “When, in the colony of Genetiva, a majority of the decurions present decide that there is reason to arm and send into the field (*armatos educere*) the colonists resident or called together, to defend the territory of the colony, every duumvir or *praefectus*² *juri dicundo*, who has received command of these armed citizens, shall have the right to execute the decree of the order without incurring any responsibility. The duumvir, or he whom the duumvir has placed in command, shall exercise the same rights and the same disciplinary power with those which are granted to the military tribune in the Roman army. . . .”³

On this text the following remarks may be made: —

1. The undisputed right of the senate of Genetiva to arm the citizens and send them into the field when the defence of the territory required it.
2. The regular and permanent grant of a military power made to the principal magistrates of the city, who held their office by popular election.
3. The setting in action of this power by a declaration of the majority of municipal senators that there is cause to arm the citizens and send them into the field.

¹ Strabo, XVII., vol. v. p. 347 of the edit. of Letronne. The title of *strategus* is found in many Greek inscriptions, even upon coins. See, in Wilmanns, No. 2,839, the *jusjurandum Aritiensium*, who take oath to pursue by land and sea, in a war of extermination (*armis et bello internecivo*), the enemies of Caligula.

² This officer was in the place of, and not co-existent with, the duumviri. He was sent from Rome to the colony.

³ *Eique IIviro aut ei quem IIvir armatis praefecerit idem jus eademque animadversio esto, uti tribuno militum populi Romani in exercitu populi Romani est.* Observe the words *populi Romani*, twice used, which confirms our remark on page 417.

4. The possibility that the duumvir shall delegate this power to another citizen.

5. Finally, the same authority that is possessed by the legionary tribune in the Roman army given to this municipal magistrate or his substitute.

It has been said that this Article 103 was a special favor granted to Genetiva by reason of her exceptional position in the midst of a country just now insurgent.¹ But at the time of Caesar's dictatorship a thousand cities were in the same situation with Genetiva,—that is to say, at the time when the Pompeian wars were ending, and the triumviral wars beginning. Nothing, therefore, would justify so strange an exception in favor of a colony comparatively obscure.²

The laws of the province of Spain contain many provisions which correspond with the laws or the customs of Rome.³ To mention but one: the ordinance relating to maintaining bounds and limits is identical in the law of Genetiva and in the *Lex Mamilia*, which was also Caesar's work. These similarities lead us to suspect others; and now, since we know how free and strong the municipal system was in the past two centuries of the Empire, is it rash to suppose that this Article 103, so strange, so inexplicable while it remains isolated, is itself a fragment from some custom common to the Latin provinces?

If it be objected that this right of protecting in arms the often large extent of territory of certain cities would have tended to anarchy, we shall reply that in the Roman Empire, contrary to the custom of our time, the responsibility for public acts was rigorous, and severely applied. The municipal senates knew that they must answer to the supreme authority for taking up arms, and for what might follow therefrom, as did Vienne and Pompeii. As punishment for the unjustifiable exercise of this right, some of the decurions and of the citizens of Pollentia were kept in irons for the rest of their lives.⁴

¹ Giraud, *Les Bronzes d'Ossuna*, and *L'Ephemeris epigraphica*, ii. 127, where, however, both Mommsen and Hübner make a reservation: *Sed etsi hoc praeferas, certe quae eodem loco essent colonias municipiaque provinciarum longinquarum eo jure non magis caruisse consentaneum est.*

² These rights exercised by the duumvirs of Genetiva Julia were so natural and so necessary that they are found in many of the mediæval cities, where the militia constituted a sort of civic guard which the municipal magistrates could call out, and of which they took command.

³ See Vol. VI. p 566.

⁴ Suet., *Tib.* 37.

III.

UPON A PASSAGE IN HERODIAN CONCERNING THE PRAETORIAN
COHORTS.

HERODIAN represents Severus as saying to his sons that he has quadrupled all the military forces existing in Rome.¹ No commentator, so far as I know, has disputed this text; it is admitted by Lange,² Marquardt, in the volume which he has just published, appears also to accept it,³ and the fact has passed into history.

This increase could have been effected only in one of two ways: either by raising from ten to forty the number of praetorian cohorts, or by putting four thousand men instead of one thousand in each cohort; both of which hypotheses are equally inadmissible.

First, we find nowhere that there ever were forty praetorian cohorts. Their number, no doubt, varied from time to time. Tacitus speaks of seventeen under Otho, sixteen under Vitellius; but these were temporary augmentations required by exceptional circumstances, and a return to the normal number was soon made. Under Severus himself, in the year 208, we still find the ten original cohorts.⁴

Thus the number of the praetorian cohorts did not change. Is it possible that their effective force was quadrupled? This is the opinion of Lange. But to raise from ten thousand to forty thousand the number of praetorian soldiers, with a corresponding increase of *turmae* of praetorian cavalry, would have been an operation requiring much time. It could not have been accomplished in the thirty days that Severus spent in Rome between the death of Julianus and his own departure on the Asiatic expedition against Niger. At this moment all the legions of which he had command were marching eastward. Having conquered Niger, he hastened into Gaul, where, on the 18th of February, 197, he gained the battle of Lyons. Returning to Rome after four years passed in the East and in Gaul, he

¹ . . . τῆς τε ἐν Ῥώμῃ δυνάμεως αὐτῆς τετραπλασιασθείσης, καὶ στρατοπέδου τοσούτου πρὸ τῆς πόλεως ἰδρυθέντος ὥς μηδεμίαν εἶναι δύναμιν ἔξωθεν ἐχέγγυνον (iii. 13).

² Septimius . . . quum se quadruplo numero custodum corporis circumdedisset (*Historia mutationum rei milit. Roman.*, p. 941).

³ Nach Herodian (iii. 13), standen unter Severus in Rom und Italien viermal so viel Truppen als früher (*Röm. Staatsv.* ii. 462). This is not exactly what Herodian says; according to this writer it was the forces posted in Rome that were quadrupled.

⁴ There were nine originally, but soon after, ten. This is the number mentioned in the *Diplômes militaires* of M. Léon Renier, Nos. 1, 2, 5, and 6, for the years 161, 208, 243, and 248.

remained there but for a very short time; for an invasion of Parthians was already recalling him to the banks of the Euphrates, and he arrived in Mesopotamia soon enough to receive there, in this same year 197, his tenth imperial salutation. It was not until 202 that he at last returned into his capital, where he then remained five or six years. The reform could not, therefore, have been made until this time; but by this time Severus had too well established his authority to have need to disorganize the army of the frontiers by this formation of forty praetorian cohorts, or an army of forty thousand praetorians.

These cohorts in fact being only formed of legionaries, it would have been necessary to require from each of the thirty legions which existed before the Parthian war eleven to twelve hundred of their best soldiers in order to form the new guard, the line would have been singularly enfeebled, and the praetorian prefects, placed at the head of these forty thousand picked men, would have been by far too dangerous. The guard had been formed on the model of the legion, which had ten cohorts, and, with its auxiliaries, numbered about ten thousand men.¹ To make a cohort of four thousand soldiers would have been contrary to all the military principles of the Romans. Dion and Spartianus say nothing of this operation, and Herodian's rhetoric cannot prevail against their silence.

This writer speaks not merely of an increase in the number of the praetorians; according to him, all the military forces of Rome were quadrupled.

Now, these forces were ten thousand praetorians and their ten *turmas* of cavalry, six thousand men of the four urban cohorts,² seven thousand *vigiles*, the *equites singulares Augusti*, the *milites peregrini*, and the *frumentarii*,—probably about twenty-five thousand men. To quadruple this number was to place in Rome a hundred thousand soldiers,—who certainly were never there. To these troops Herodian adds an army of equal force, encamped at the gates of the city. Here again we convict him of exaggeration, since we know that this army was composed of one single legion, the *II. Parthica*, which was encamped at Albano. Moreover, what signifies this establishment of a legion at the gates of Rome, if it were not as a guarantee which the Emperor desired to possess against the seditious spirit of the praetorians? Is not this feeling of distrust in contradiction with such a great increase in the number of that formidable branch of the service which in three months had murdered two Emperors?

Dion complains, it is true, that the public treasury was burdened with

¹ The long discussions will be remembered which took place in the newspapers and in parliament on the project of modifying the number of the effective force of the companies in French regiments.

² This number is still found in 216 (L. Renier, *Diplômes militaires*).

a new expense. The increase of pay decreed by Severus, and the creation of three new legions, of which two remained posted in the new province of Mesopotamia, explain these complaints on the subject of expense. As to what the historian-senator says of the city crowded with soldiers, we must remember that the Senate, with whom Severus was extremely unpopular, saw with grief all that increased in Rome the strength of the military element. Now, the establishment of a legion at Albano, at the gates of the city, was a novelty which must have singularly displeased the Conscrip Fathers; and the soldiers of the Second Parthica, near enough to Rome to appear often in the streets, irritated by their presence those who had never before seen legionaries in the capital of the Empire. Besides this, the change effected by Severus in the method of recruiting the praetorians, henceforward taken not from Italy, but from all the legions, interfered with old habits and caused a discontent, of which Dion made himself the echo. All that it is possible to grant to Herodian and to Dion is that the personal guard of the Emperor and the detached corps were augmented by a certain number of men.

For all these reasons I believe that no importance should be attached to this supposed address of Severus, — which was in no respect official, and manifestly composed by Herodian himself; and I conclude that we should erase from history the detail which has been discussed in this paper.

IV.

ON THE POLICY OF THE ROMAN EMPERORS TOWARDS DRUIDISM.¹

A.

THE question whether Druidism was violently suppressed, or by slow degrees extinguished, after the Roman conquest, is still a matter of discussion. Was there persecution? I believe that there was, but a persecution of a peculiar nature; and, in my opinion, the policy pursued by Augustus and Tiberius towards the Druids determined that which Trajan adopted in respect to the Christians. That we may fully understand this policy, it is needful only to restore the texts to the historic environment in which they belong, without quoting them anew.

Caesar had subjugated Gaul, but he had not had time to organize it. The first conquest, that of the territory itself, had been completed; the second remained, more difficult to make,—that of men's minds and manners. The social organization which had so heroically maintained the struggle was still in existence, and the Druids, preserving their former authority, continued to attract the multitude to their tribunals, their schools, and their human sacrifices. Augustus was not the conqueror, but he was the wily statesman; he had not subjugated Gaul, but he was able to transform it by that patient skill, that art of pacifying and of extinguishing, in which all his genius consisted. "He made a census of the Gauls," says one of the historians of his reign, "and he determined their mode of life and their political condition."² For certain tribes he changed the territorial limits, the name or site of their capitals, that he might break the ties of confederation or clientship, and efface the remembrance of the days of independence. Whole peoples had been exterminated, and he gave their lands to neighboring states; those wasted by war were united to others; client-states passed over into a condition of self-government; and all that remained of the three hundred nations mentioned by Plutarch were parcelled out into sixty municipalities, having each its senate of a hundred members, the deliberative body, and its duumvirs or quatuorvirs, the executive. These magistrates decided in the civil cases of their fellow-citizens, with a right of appeal to the governor of the province, who held his assizes regularly in the more important cities. By the mere fact of this organization the

¹ Paper read before the Academy of Moral and Political Science in January, 1880.

² . . . αὐτῶν ἀπογραφὰς ἐποιήσατο καὶ τὸν βίον τήν τε πολιτείαν διεκόσμησε (Dion, iii. 22).

Druids, without being persecuted, lost their judicial power. If some of them became decurions, or even magistrates, this was by reason of their personal fortune or of their allegiance to Rome, and not in virtue of their sacerdotal character.

B.

AUGUSTUS made another reform of extreme importance. The Romans were very tolerant in respect to foreign cults. Since they had already gods by the thousand, a few more or less were of little consequence. Thus when the Romans had conquered a nation they took its divinities, placed them in their own list, sometimes in their temples; and this was the end of the matter,—Olympus extended itself, like the Empire. This proceeding was successful in every case except that of the Jews, who, believing in one God, could not accept this sacrilegious union, and that of the Druids, who, forming a national clergy, lost their power if their gods lost the character of Gallic deities. Instead of proscribing these gods, Augustus, who shrank from acts of needless violence, respected them, and employed them in his service himself,—a more courteous method, and especially a more useful one.

Gaul, like Rome, had its greater and its lesser divinities: Augustus latinized the names of the former, or caused them to bear the appellation of the corresponding Latin deity, so that conquerors and conquered might come without trouble of conscience to sacrifice at the same altars. But these gods, now subjects of Rome like their worshippers, must allow to be set up beside them the supreme divinity of the Empire, the genius of the Emperor. In the immense temple recently discovered on the summit of the Puy-de-Dôme has been found the following ex-voto: NVM · AVG · ET · DEO · MERCVRI DVMIATI.

We do not fully understand the religious organization of the Empire; inscriptions show, however, in many cities a perpetual flamen. This was a citizen who had passed through all the municipal offices (*omnibus honoribus functus*). This priest, the most important personage of the state, doubtless played in his city the part filled in Rome by the pontifex maximus, and by the Christian bishop in his metropolis. Devoted to the worship of the local divinities, and also to that of the gods of the Empire, this flamen would drive from the altar the former priest of Teutates and Esus.

At Rome, Augustus had re-established the worship of the Lares,—those gods of the street-corner and of the domestic hearth whom the populace preferred to the great gods of the Capitol; divinities made expressly for the neighborhood or the house, and loved the more because they seemed to be not too remote from their worshippers. Each Gallic city had also

protecting gods whom it specially worshipped. Augustus recognized in them tutelary divinities similar to the Roman Lares, he honored their altars; the Roman, like the native, made there libations and the wonted offerings, and these Gallic Lares added to their names that of the monarch who opened to them the Pantheon of the Empire. They were called the *Lares Augusti*, — a word of double significance, in which each man could understand, at his pleasure, either a reference to the Emperor, or an attestation of the august character of the Lares. A new order of priests was necessary for this religion, at once old and new. By reason of the expenses required for the sacrifices, the sacred feasts, and the games which were a part of this cult, these priests were rich plebeians, *severi Augustales*, chosen annually, and on the expiration of their term of office forming the powerful fraternity of the *Augustales*.

C.

THIS religious reform was completed by the great Lyonnese institution, the assembly of deputies elected by the cities of the Three Gauls, which met every year around the altar of Rome and Augustus, at the confluence of the Saône and the Rhone. This cult, which became the official religion of the Empire, had its high-priest, the *sacerdos ad aram*, elsewhere called the *flamen provinciae*. This provincial flamen had under his superintendence the worship and the clergy of the entire province, as the flamen of the cities determined the order of the ceremonies in his particular city; and he bequeathed his religious primacy to the Christian archbishop. In this sacerdotal organization there was no place for the Druids any more than had been a place for them in the judicial organization. They were therefore, without being subjected to any violence whatever, despoiled of their chief jurisdiction, and both as priests and as judges left outside the new social order. The officiating priests of the former cult, relegated into obscurity, would there be forgotten, with their chief, the principal Druid, whose place was occupied by the *sacerdos ad aram*. That only is thoroughly destroyed of which the place is filled; Augustus had found a way to fill the place of the Druids. Without the active agency of the government, the new clergy in the Three Gauls was surely to efface the old religion in the hearts of the population; and a thousand facts prove that the work was very speedily accomplished.

Augustus made upon the Druids a more direct war, but not a more unjust one, according to the ideas of the ancients. Of all the Druidic ceremonies, that which was most attractive to the multitude, excited the most ardent emotion, and did the most to secure the influence of these ministers of a terrible worship, was the human sacrifice. But the Druids had

no more captives to put to death, since there was no more war between Gallic states,¹ and Rome permitted the *jus necis* to none of her subjects except the allied cities. A senatus-consultum of the year 94 B. C. prohibited to the Romans and their subjects the offering of human sacrifices; the Gauls when they entered the Roman world became subject to its general laws, and Augustus allowed only slight libations of blood, offered by voluntary victims. This was to deprive the Druidic worship of its principal attraction,—those spectacles of death which at Rome gathered the whole populace to witness combats of gladiators, and in ancient Gaul brought countless multitudes to the feet of the Druids.

Another law, very ancient, for it was written in the Twelve Tables, forbade, under penalty of death, nocturnal assemblies (*qui coetus nocturnos agitaverit, capital esto*). This police law was certainly enforced in Gaul, as it was everywhere else; and the governors, in causing it to be executed, deprived the Druids of a formidable opportunity for incendiary harangues.

Augustus had suppressed all associations which were not sanctioned by a decree of the Senate; he could not, therefore, legally recognize the Druidic establishment. But to take away from this great body the right of meeting, was to break all its bonds and suppress it completely.

Finally, he announced that persons adhering to the old religion could never obtain that Roman citizenship which might lead to high office in the Empire,—since the Spaniard Balbus had lately been seen invested with the consular toga. This decision alienated from the ancient faith those whose ambition had led them to look towards Rome; and this number included all the notables of Gaul, whom we shall soon see applying to Claudius for the right to canvass for the Roman magistracies. To obtain them, or even to solicit the humblest of them, it was necessary to speak the language of Rome. The Latin tongue, becoming the speech of the army, of the administration, and of all forms of business, relegated the Celtic to the depths of the country, and with it the beliefs to which it had so long given expression.

D.

ALL these measures, however, were on the part of Augustus and in the eyes of the Romans the exercise of a right, and not an act of violence, since they were the application to the conquered of laws made for the conquerors; but in enforcing them the Emperor dealt a mortal blow at the Druidic body.

¹ *Bellum quod ante Caesaris adventum fere quotannis accidere solebat* (*De Bello Gall.* vi. 15).

Under Tiberius broke out the revolt of Julius and Sacrovir which filled Rome with terror. Tacitus recounts it, but says nothing of the suppression of it which came after,—a suppression which, with such an Emperor, we know must have been of the severest kind. The inimitable painter of the tragedies of Rome cared little for the subject-nations; accordingly, he says nothing in regard to the means employed by Tiberius to prevent the recurrence of a Gallic rebellion. A *senatus-consultum* lost in the *Digest*, whose application we find some years later for the first time, shows us the weapon which Tiberius employed. In order to prevent the Druids from speaking in the name of Heaven to minds easily excited, and from keeping superstition alive by sortileges and incantations, their rites were assimilated to the crime of magic, which for a provincial was a capital crime. The death-penalty had been denounced by the Twelve Tables against enchanters (*Cereri necator*); and the same had been decreed by the Senate under the Republic against the abettors of the Bacchanalians. The *senatus-consultum* of which we speak¹ extended to magicians the penalty decreed by the *lex Cornelia de sicariis et veneficiis*: poisoners of the mind were put in the same category with poisoners of the body. This law was applied in the reign of Claudius to a Roman knight who had in his possession in court a serpent's egg, which, according to the Druidic belief, would cause him to gain his suit.

Suetonius asserts that Claudius completely abolished the Druidic religion. It is more probable that this Emperor merely renewed the ordinances of Augustus and Tiberius; and they were sufficient, for Vespasian added nothing to them, after the great revolt of 71 A. D., which the preaching of the Druids had encouraged.

But to local severities we cannot give the character of a general persecution. If a certain number of Druids, proved despisers of the laws of the Empire, did in fact perish, many doubtless escaped through the obscurity of their condition. Thus we explain those passages of authors who date from the reigns of Tiberius and Claudius the abolition of the old Gallic religion, and those which show the Druids still existing in Gaul two or three centuries later. The gods die before all their altars fall, and remains of Druidism long survived the overthrow of the great sacerdotal body which had governed Gaul.

To conclude, Augustus did violence to no man's conscience, but he left no place for the Druids in the social organization which he gave the Gallic provinces, and he reduced them to silence and obscurity when he prohibited to them acts which were contrary to the general laws of the Empire. Tiberius applied to them other republican laws; he proscribed religious rites

¹ *Ex Sc . . . ejus legis [Corn. de sic. et venef.] poena damnari jubetur qui mala sacrificia fecerit, habuerit (Dig. xlviii. 8, 13).*

which appeared tainted with magic; and as the Druids were much more occupied with sorcery than science (*vates et medici*), it became manifest that existing laws could reach them.

Druidism in the vast empire was a foreign element and a cause of anxiety. The Emperors did not seek to exterminate it, but to render it inert, and consequently harmless. There were numerous victims, certainly; but neither Tiberius nor Claudius seems to have ordered search to be made for the abettors of the former worship (*inquisitio*): they punished outward acts, the public manifestations of Druidism, which were an open revolt against the law and the magistrates. The same rule of conduct is prescribed by Trajan to Pliny on the subject of the Christians. "Make no search for the Christians," the Emperor wrote; "but if they are accused and convicted, punish them. Receive no anonymous accusations, and do not condemn upon suspicion." Tradition had great power in Rome; precedents had long made the law there. I believe that what we know of the policy of Trajan shows us what had been that of Claudius and of Tiberius.

It is needless to add that executions commanded by policy are reprov'd by conscience; but history must judge men of ancient times by the ideas of their period: she is bound to ask why they have acted as we should not act, and in certain cases she brings forward extenuating circumstances in favor of persecutors, while at the same time condemning the persecution.

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- Andriscus**, a claimant for the Macedonian crown, ii. 192; defeated and carried prisoner to Rome, 193; encouraged by the Carthaginians, 201.
- Andronicus, Livius**, earliest Latin poet, his first drama acted in Rome (240 B. C.), i. 614; his verses chanted in Roman solemnities, ii. 45; brought to Rome as a slave, 435 *note*; enfranchised, iv. 370 *note*.
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- Angusticlave**, narrow stripe of purple on the edge of the toga, indicating the equestrian rank, vi. 203.
- Anicetus**, a freedman, prefect of the fleet, proposes to Nero a plan for Agrippina's murder, iv. 591; undertakes the murder, 593; scheme for the destruction of Octavia, 615; his reward, 616.
- Anicius**, legate of Paulus Aemilius in the Macedonian War, ii. 175, 179; his ignorance in respect to music, 335-6.
- Aniensis**, a Roman *tribus*, composed of Aequians, i. 444, 481 *note*.
- Anio**, a branch of the Tiber, i. 90, 92.
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- Anticyra**, city of Greece, iv. 224.
- Antigonus**, son of Echeocrates, murdered by Perseus, ii. 149.
- Antigonus**, king of Judaea, the last of the Maccabees, supported by the Parthians; taken prisoner by the Romans and put to death at Antioch, iii. 643.
- Antigonus Gonatas**, king of Macedon, at war with Pyrrhus, i. 472.
- Antinoüs**, favorite of Hadrian, 382-3; his death and tomb; city built in his honor, v. 382 *note*.
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- Apameia**, in Phrygia, made part of Cilicia, iii. 150.
- Apellicon of Teos**, Greek philosopher, conducts the defence of Athens against the Romans, ii. 675; lover of books, 679.
- Apennines**, chain of mountains traversing Italy, i. 22-5; originally inhabited by Oscans and Sabellians, 88-9, 99-100; crossed by the Romans with colonies, 457; and with roads (*Valeria*, *Flaminia*, and *Appia*), 495, 603, 626; crossed by the Gauls, 597; and by Hannibal, 670; new road planned by Caesar across, iii. 532.
- Aper, Arrius**, praetorian prefect, accused of the murder of Numerianus and slain, vii. 345; "the wild boar" whom Diocletian was predestined to slay before attaining the Empire, 347 and *note*.
- Aphaca**, Syrian town and lake sacred to Venus, vii. 499; viii. 137.
- Aphrodisias**, "city of Aphrodite," in Caria, exempted from taxation by Caesar, iii. 480; its shows of wild beasts in the second century A. D., vi. 160 *note*.
- Aphrodite**, Greek goddess, i. 205; iii. 239 *note*.
- Apicata**, wife of Sejanus, betrays his murder of Drusus, iv. 479; kills herself, 479 *note*.
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- Apis**, Egyptian god, how manifested, v. 378; his tombs, vi. 524; viii. 295 and *note*.
- Apollo**, Greek divinity associated with the Pelasgian Axiokeros on a Hermes, i. 52; the Cumaeen, legend of his tears, i. 109; the laurel his sacred plant, 145 *note*; his oracle consulted by the Romans, i. 170-5; ii. 2; the Cumaeen Sibyl, his priestess; becomes a prominent divinity of Rome in the time of Augustus, i. 237; Camillus consecrates to him a tithe of the booty of Veii, 360; introduced at Rome as a health-giving divinity (*deus sospitalis*), 635; ii. 295, 308; his priests the quindecemvirs, i. 636 *note*; games dedicated to him, 636; one of the twelve Great Gods of the Capitol, 676 *note*; early received at Rome, ii. 295; a statue and offering vowed to him on occasion of a pestilence, ii. 303; mentioned with disrespect by Plautus, 323; favorite divinity of Sylla, iii. 15, 43; his sanctuaries plundered by the pirates, 111; his statue carried in Pompey's triumph, 197; his temple at Delphi pillaged by Sylla, 677-8; compensation made to him, 678 *note*; Sibylline books are placed beneath his statue, iv. 126; his protection specially claimed by Augustus, 129; temple in his honor erected by this Emperor, 130 and *note*; library established in his temple by Augustus, 134; *Carmen Seculare* addressed to him, 139; united with Gallic gods upon the altar of Reims, 175; his virgin priestess at Argos, vi. 316; Diocletian consults his oracle as to the persecution of Christians, vii. 416; identified with Mithra and with the Sun, 484 and *notes*, 489; condemned by Valentinian II., viii. 305.
- Apollodorus**, Cleopatra's confidant, iii. 471.
- Apollodorus of Damascus**, builder of Trajan's bridge over the Danube, v. 239 *note*, 240 *note*, 271; architect of Trajan's Column, 254, 271; why put to death by Hadrian, 407-8; author of the *Poliorecticus*, vi. 347.
- Apollonia**, Greek city of Illyria, besieged by pirates, i. 591; succored by the Romans, 592; besieged by Philip, ii. 21.
- Apollonius of Rhodes**, ii. 264.
- Apollonius of Tyana**, Pythagorean philosopher, iv. 603; tried for sorcery, v. 11; highly esteemed by the public, 135-6; heard by Vespasian, 136; conspires against Domitian, 206; regarded as a messiah, 409; his career as a nomadic preacher of philosophy, vi. 373 and *note*; his unselfish teaching; eighty of his discourses preserved, 374; endeavors to re-establish the worship of the gods, 386; his life written by Philostratus; a *heroon* consecrated to him by Caracalla, 549; an

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- Appian**, historian invested with office, vi. 196 *note*; truly a historian, 344.
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- Apronianus**, governor of Asia, condemned to death under Severus, vi. 541-2.
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- Aquila, L. Pontius**, tribune, one of Caesar's assassins, iii. 541; his disrespect towards Caesar, 541 *note*; killed at Modena, 583 *note*.
- Aquileia**, a city of Northern Italy, on the Aemilian Road, i. 33, 603; a Roman colony, ii. 137; its territory continually devastated by the Barbarians, iii. 686; its gold-mines and extensive commerce, iv. 223; besieged by the Marcomanni, v. 452; station of the imperial fleet, vi. 246; besieged by Maximin, vii. 161; defeat of Constantine II., viii. 64; Magnentius compelled to abandon it, 73; synod, 288; Theodosius enters the city, 310.
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- Aquilian Law**, the, ii. 433 *note*.
- Aquilius, Manius**, accused of embezzlement, ii. 368 *note*; defeats the slaves in Sicily, 547; murdered by order of Mithridates, 674.
- Aquilonia**, city of Central Italy, scene of final Samnite defeat, i. 451-2.
- Aquincum**, a Roman colony in Pannonia, v. 332.
- Aquitaine**, southwestern division of Gaul, its subjugation, iii. 300-305; its advance in civilization, 682; furnishes light infantry to the Roman army, 683; its interests advanced by Augustus, iv. 195-6; governed by Tetricus, vii. 265.
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- Arbogastes**, Frankish chief and a Roman general, viii. 275; sent by Gratian against the Goths, 280; useful to Theodosius in defeating Maximus, 310; sent by Theodosius into Gaul with Valentinian II., his successful campaigns and useful advice, 323; is dismissed

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- Arbustus**, tutor to one of Constantine's sons, vii. 496; his elegy *ad Nympham*, 496 *note*.
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- Arceas**, Greek philosopher, ii. 272.
- Archagathos**, a Greek surgeon, is established in Rome (219 B. C.), i. 629.
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- Archelaus**, son of Herod the Great, accused by his subjects, is deposed, and exiled to Vienne in Gaul, iv. 238; v. 109.
- Archestratus**, his *Gastronomy*, translated by Ennius, ii. 262.
- Archiatrus**, city physician under Augustus, vi. 110.
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- Areius**, philosopher and confidential friend of Augustus; consoles Livia for her son's death, vi. 371.
- Aretas**, Arab king, enemy of Aristobulus, iii. 144.
- Argel**, figures of men in wicker-work, thrown into the Tiber annually, i. 139 *note*; 227 *note*.
- Argentaria**, battle of, viii. 269 and *note*.
- Argentarii**, Roman bankers, ii. 475.
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- Aricia**, ancient Latin city, its temple of Diana religious centre of Latium, i. 120, 126, 342; its quarrel with Ardea, 342, 343; in possession of full Roman rights, 422; subject to Rome, 253; scene of Roman victory over the Etruscans, 301.
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- Aristeides of Athens**, philosopher converted to Christianity, his *Apology*, v. 409 and *note*.
- Aristion**, Greek philosopher, conducts the defence of Athens against the Romans, ii. 675; a poor general, 679; attempts to negotiate with Sylla, 680.
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tacked by Fulvia and Lucius; Antonius, 617-19; his situation critical, 619; victorious over Lucius; sends him to command in Spain; leniency towards the veterans; severity towards the citizens of Perusia, 621; master of Italy and the West, 622; sole representative of a new principle, 624; again reconciled with Antony, 624-6; marries Scribonia; interview with Sextus Pompeius at Cape Misenum, 627; returns to Rome accompanied by Antony, 628; repudiates Scribonia and marries Livia, 629; hostilities against Sextus, 630; interview with Antony at Tarentum, 631; disaster to his fleet by storm; complains of Neptune, 632; naval defeat, 634; victorious over Sextus, 636-7; displeasure against Lepidus, 637-8; secure position, 639; policy and conduct, 640-41; allows Octavia to join Antony, 648; useful measures at Rome, 651-2; attacks the Illyrians; founds Turin and Aosta; successes in Africa, 654; is reproached by Sosius for his course towards Antony, 655; his uncompromising reply, 656; preparations for war with Antony, 658; reads Antony's will to the Senate, 658-9; causes Antony to be deprived of the consulship; announces the war as against Cleopatra, 659; goes to Coreyra, 661; at the battle of Actium, 664; celebrates his victory, 665; clemency towards the defeated, 666; winters at Samos; returns to Rome; tranquillizes the discontented, 667; arrives in Egypt, 669; enters Alexandria, 670; indifference towards Cleopatra, 671; displays her statue at his triumph, 672; his selfish pursuit of power, iv. 41; obtains the devotion of the army, 42; prudent character of his policy, 44; his name, 44 *note*; his wise liberality to individuals, 49-50; secret of his strength, 52; development of his character, 52-3; his relations with Maecenas and Agrippa, 54-6, 65; and with other eminent men, 56-7; allows them great liberty of opinion, 57; chronology of his reign, 64; his seal, 65 and *note*; temples in Asia erected in his honor, 65, 66; associated with the gods in public worship; further honors decreed to him by the Senate, 65, 66, and *note*; his moderation, 67; his return to Rome; three triumphs, 67-9; great amount of gold obtained by him in Egypt, 68 *note*; closes the temple of Janus, 69; his system of government, 79; is elected imperator by

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Augustus, title bestowed on Octavius by the Senate and people, and assumed by all the subsequent Emperors, iv. 77-8; two Augusti, v. 459; vi. 155; vii. 355.

Aurastius, Mount, part of the Atlas, fortified by the Romans, vi. 153 and *note*, 154.

Aurelian, the Emperor (L. Domitius Aurelianus), vii. 280; commander of cavalry under Claudius, ii. 190; nationality of his troops, 196; son of a freedman: Valerian's liberality to him, 205; brought home multitudes of prisoners, 207, 240; too severe to be entrusted with the charge of Gallienus, 236; his successes against the Franks, 237 and *note*; and in Illyria, 239-40; great

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Aurelian Way. See **Via Aurelia**.

Aurelius, name borne by several strategoi of Palmyra, v. 379.

Aureolus, commander of cavalry under Gallienus, vii. 190; one of "the Thirty Tyrants;" distinguished by Valerian, 235; defeats

- Ingenuus, 260; made master of the cavalry, and governor of Illyria; defeats Macrianus, 262; on guard in the Alps against Victorinus, 269; seizes upon Rome, 271.
- Aureus**, value of Caesar's, iii. 533 *note*, 534. See also **Coinage**.
- Aurum coronarium** (coronary gold), of the Empire, had its origin in gold crowns offered the proconsuls, ii. 124, 281, 382 and *note*; total remission to Italy and partial to the provinces by Hadrian, v. 310; by Antoninus Pius, 434; and enormous amount under Constantine, viii. 12.
- Aurum oblativum**, offering made by the Senate to the Emperor, viii. 12.
- Aurum vicesimarium**, a tax of a twentieth on enfranchisements, ii. 41.
- Aurunci**, their position and character, i. 95; Roman war in defence of them, 423-4.
- Ausona**, a Latin city, taken by the Romans, i. 435.
- Ausonians**, ancient Italian people, their position, i. 91.
- Ausonius**, Latin author, tutor of Gratian, vii. 312, 518 *note*.
- Auspices**. See **Augural Science**.
- Autumn**, season of Roman fever, i. 40, *note*.
- Autun** (Bibracte, and later, Augustadunum), Gallic city, Roman road passes through, iv. 198; frequented by Roman traders, 221; famous for its schools in the second century B. C., vi. 127; sacked by the Gallic legions, vii. 312-13; besieged by the Germans, viii. 91.
- Auxentius**, Arian bishop of Milan, received at court by Justina, viii. 302; predecessor of Ambrose, 305, 306 *note*.
- Auxiliaries**, Italian, in the Roman army, their pay and rations, i. 437, and *note*.
- Avaricum**, besieged and taken by Caesar, iii. 332-4.
- Aventine**, the, one of the Seven Hills, its fluvial shells, i. 42; spot where Cacus was killed by Hercules, 139; where Remus saw six vultures, 142; supposed site of a rival city called Remuria; long remained outside the *pomoerium*, 143 *notes*; settled by Latins and added to the city of Rome by Ancus, 157; temple of Diana built on this hill by Servius as common sanctuary of the Latin League, 163, 200-1, 253; annual solemnity of slaves in the temple, 247; proposed division of the land among the plebeians, 322; home of the poorer classes, 322-3; *ager publicus* up to 456 B. C., 322 *note*; its present condition, 323 *note*; site of a temple erected to the Veian Juno by Camillus, 358; the plebeians retreat to this hill, 285; partisans of Caius Gracchus make a last stand here, ii. 283; are attacked and dispersed; Caius takes shelter for a time in the temple of Diana, 485, 504; temple to Jupiter Libertas, iii. 549 *note*; temples on this hill rebuilt by Augustus, iv. 298; Vitellius seeks shelter there, v. 95.
- Avernus, Lake**, of volcanic origin, i. 26 *note*; abounded in fish, 109; is connected with Lake Lucarius, forming the Julian Harbor, iii. 631.
- Avesta**, or Book of the Magi, promulgated as law by Sapor II., vii. 576.
- Axieros, Axiokersa, Axiokersos**, Samothracian divinities, i. 52-3.
- Azum**, town in Abyssinia, its obelisk, its extensive commerce, iv. 31.
- BAALBEC**, or **Heliopolis**, its wonderful architecture, v. 372, 428; vi. 520 and *note*; made a colony with the *jus Italicum*, 487; its temple of Jupiter, 569.
- Babylas of Antioch**, his death, vii. 229; his remains supposed to profane the grove of Daphne, viii. 206.
- Babylonia**, its exports, iv. 224.
- Bacchus**, a Greek divinity not originally worshipped at Rome, his rites introduced at Rome from Etruria, ii. 300; their scandalous character discovered, 301-2; reported to the Senate, 303; an edict issued against them, 304-6; but they still continue, 309 *note*; lands of the Bessi consecrated to this god, iv. 252; imitation of Bacchus, vii. 112.
- Bactriana**, or **Bactria**, visited by Phoenician traders, i. 531; revolted province of the Seleucid Empire, ii. 74; Eucratidas, Greek king of, iii. 380; worshipped in Cyrenaica, 729; visited by Pompey, iv. 215; promised Augustus by his poets, 236; visited by Italian traders, vi. 171.
- Bacuvius**, an Iberian, general under Theodosius, viii. 275, 327.
- Baetica**, colony founded by Publius Scipio, ii. 59. See **Spain**.
- Bagaudae**, insurgent peasants in the reign of Diocletian, vii. 352 and *note*; attacked and defeated, 356; their ravages, 369.
- Bahram**. See **Persia, kings of**.

- Balae**, pleasure resort in the time of Augustus, iv. 39; often visited by Nero, 591.
- Balance of power**, how preserved in the Roman Republic, i. 509.
- Balbilla**, Latin poetess, vi. 158.
- Balbinus** (Decimus Caelius Galbinus), the Emperor, proclaimed by the Senate, vii. 155; a descendant of Balbus, 155 *note*; ill-treated by the Roman mob, 158; anticipates the public gratitude; regards his colleague with contempt, 163; suspects him of treachery; is murdered by the praetorians, 164.
- Balbus, L. Cornelius** (1st), friend and steward of Caesar, iii. 528; first Spaniard who became consul, 681.
- Balbus, L. Cornelius** (2d), his gifts to the Roman people, iv. 49; his triumph for successes in Africa, 241; his theatre, 346.
- Balearic Islands**, occupied by Carthage, i. 536; renown of their slingers, 539 and *note*; a nest of pirates taken by Metellus, ii. 216; Spanish colonists, 216 *note*; their slingers and archers in the Roman army, 241 *note*; seized by Cnaeus Pompeius, iii. 516.
- Balista**, commander of cavalry under Macrinus, vii. 190; makes a guerilla warfare in Syria, 252; endangers the position of the Persians, 253; joins Odenathus, 254; induces Macrianus to assume the purple, 260; in command in Asia, 261; said to have been assassinated by Odenathus, 262 and *note*.
- Ballot, Vote by**, established in Rome (139 B. C.), ii. 416-17.
- Baltic**, the, early export of amber, i. 75, 531; iv. 223.
- Baltidae**, family of Gothic chiefs, vii. 182 and *note*.
- Bar Kokaba**, Jewish leader, v. 415 and *note*.
- Barbarians**. See **Germans** and **Goths**.
- Barbatio**, master of the infantry sent by Constantius against the Alemanni; his lack of success, viii. 96 and *note*; consults diviners about a swarm of bees, and is put to death by Constantius, 117.
- Barca**, "Lightning," name of a great Punic family, i. 547, 575; their importance and ambition, 610 *notes*; Spain their special heritage, 611; ii. 53.
- Barea Soranus, Servilius**, illustrious victim of Nero, v. 29.
- Baruch**, the pseudo, quoted, vi. 186.
- Barygaza**, an Indian seaport, vi. 171.
- Basil, Saint**, Archbishop of Cappadocian Caesarea, embraces a monastic life, viii. 189-90; describes his retreat, 190-1; friendly relations with Libanius, 192; recommends the ascetic life, 195, 199; organizes it, 196 and *note*; on episcopal elections, 198 *note*; on dishonest magistrates in Valentinian's reign, viii. 231 *note*; Bishop of Caesarea, 256; on the wickedness of bishops, 257; his friendship with Gregory broken off, 257; hot-tempered, 257 *note*; on the deplorable condition of Asia; his quarrel with Valens, 258; recognizes no special right in the Bishop of Rome, 287 *note*; required twenty years of penitence for homicide, 317.
- Basilus, L. Minucius**, one of Caesar's assassins, iii. 541; murdered by his slaves, 583 *note*.
- Basque race**, possibly originated in Africa, ii. 493; question of their origin, iii. 232-3; ancient chant, iv. 201-2.
- Bassianus**, brother-in-law of Constantine, said to have conspired against him, vii. 463, 464 *note*.
- Bassianus, Julius**, priest of the Sun at Emesa, father-in-law of the Emperor Severus, vi. 547; his family, vii. 101.
- Bassus, Caecilius**, assumes command in Syria, iii. 715; pays ransom to an Arab chief, 716.
- Bassus, Junius**, urban prefect, receives baptism, viii. 156.
- Bastarnae**, a Thracian tribe, instigated to invade Italy, ii. 147, 151; they abandon the design, 156; always hostile to Rome, iv. 19, 20; last remnant of the Gallic nations in the valley of the Danube, 100,000 of them are introduced as colonists into the Empire by Probus, vii. 337; brought over to the right bank of the Danube, 373.
- Batanaea**, a district of Palestine added by Augustus to the kingdom of Herod the Great: a savage country, vi. 516; civilized by Trajan, Hadrian, and Severus, 517.
- Batavia (Insula Batavorum)**, an island in the Rhine, the Catti allowed to establish themselves there, iv. 258; the Franks driven into it, vii. 334; promised to the Franks by Carausius, 369.
- Batavi**, Gallic tribe, inhabitants of Batavia; Catti established in their territory; their cavalry serve as auxiliaries in the Roman army, v. 71, vi. 321 *note*; Vespasian's war with them, v. 98-105; favorable terms made with them, 105-6.
- Battle**, early Roman order of, i. 515, 516.
- Bauto**, Frankish chief and Roman general,

- father of the Empress Eudoxia, viii. 280; retained in the army by Justina, 302.
- Bebryces**, a tribe of Asia Minor mentioned in the Argonautic legend, iii. 11 *note*.
- Bebryces**, Iberian tribe in the Pyrenees, their relations with Hannibal, i. 660-1; singular clause in their treaty, 661 *note*.
- Bedriacum**, city of Northern Italy, battles near, v. 74, 87, 88.
- Belgae**, a Gallic tribe friendly to the Cimbri, ii. 528; early invaders of Gaul, iii. 234; Caesar's campaign against them, 292-3; in the Roman army (68 A. D.), v. 90 *note*; faithful to Vitellius, 101.
- Bellianus**, praetor, murdered by the pirates, iii. 112.
- Bellienus, L.**, murderer of Lucretius Ofella, condemned by Caesar, iii. 167.
- Bellona**, Roman goddess of war, wife or sister of Mars, identified with the Sabine goddess Nerio, i. 125; her temple on the Campus Martius, 230; invoked by Decius in battle, 420; cities in her honor, ii. 17; her temple at Comana, iii. 120 and *note*; 151 *note*.
- Bellovaci**, Gallic tribe of Belgica: their resistance to Caesar, ii. 292-3; their defeat, 294; make a second resistance, 353; defeat and surrender, 354.
- Bellovesus**, i. 113.
- Bellutus, C. Sicinius**, leader of the plebeians, i. 284; appointed tribune, 285.
- Beneventum**, originally **Maleventum**, a city of Samnium: claimed to possess the boar's head of Calydon, i. 108; defeat of Pyrrhus, 468-9; garrisoned by the Romans, 490; ii. 13; a colony established there, i. 492; on the *Via Egnatia*, 495; defeat of Hanno, ii. 18-19; remains faithful to Rome, 41; its condition after the First Civil War, iii. 27; arch erected to Trajan, v. 268.
- Berenice**, Jewish queen, v. 161 and *note*.
- Berenice**, city of Cyrenaica, pronounced free by the Roman Senate, ii. 517; its wealth and industry, iii. 729.
- Berytus**, a Phoenician town, its games of the amphitheatre, v. 131; a Roman colony with the *jus Italicum*, and famous school of Roman law, vi. 516; pagan reaction under Julian, viii. 187.
- Bestia, L. Calpurnius**, obtains the province of Numidia, ii. 502; negotiates with Jugurtha, 503.
- Bazabde**, Roman fortress on the Tigris, taken by Sapor II., viii. 124; attempt of Constantius to retake it, 128.
- Bibulus, L. Calpurnius**, colleague with Caesar in the aedileship, iii. 165; enemy of Caesar, consul with him, 204; opposes Caesar's measures, 206-7; utters edicts against his colleague, 210-11; praises by Cicero, 373; governor of Syria, 385; Pompey's admiral, 448; his death, 449.
- Bisellium**, a double seat occupied by persons of distinction at the games, vi. 74.
- Bithynia**, a kingdom of Asia Minor, at first in alliance with Macedon against Rome, afterwards neutral, ii. 87 *note*, 97; its alliance sought by Antiochus, 118; relinquishes captured territory to Pergamus, 126; hostilities with Pergamus, 142; receives Hannibal, 146; neutral between Rome and Macedon; submission to Rome, 186; incited to hostilities against Pergamus, 187, 219-20; Roman severities towards the king, 219; its general assembly, 252; sends aid to the Romans against the Cimbri, 532; deplorable condition under Nicomedes, 653; its territory reduced by the Senate, 666; plundered by Fimbria's soldiers, 691; visited by Caesar, iii. 19; ceded to Rome, 192; its territory increased by Pompey, 149; organized as a province, 151; receives a few Roman colonists, 708-9; a senatorial province, iv. 147 *note*; exported cheeses to Rome, 224 *note*; united with Pontus, v. 156; governed by the younger Pliny, 277-84; visited by Hadrian, 366; overrun by the Goths, vii. 247.
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- Prusias II.**, son of Prusias I. and brother-in-law of Philip of Macedon, endeavors to mediate between the Romans and Perseus, ii. 167; humiliates himself before the Roman Senate, 186; incited by the Senate to make war on Eumenes, 187; the Senate's severity towards him, 219.
- Nicomedes II.**, son of Prusias II., refuses to furnish assistance to the Romans in the Cimbrian War, ii. 437, his attempt upon Paphlagonia, 666; oppressed by Rome, ii. 653.
- Nicomedes III.**, son of Nicomedes II., driven from his throne by Sylla, ii. 668;

- replaced by order of the Senate, 670; defeated by Mithridates, 672; Romans furnish assistance, 691; visited by Caesar, iii. 19; his death and bequest to Rome, 122.
- Bituitus**, king of the Arverni, attacks the Romans; is defeated and carried in chains to Rome, ii. 524.
- Bituriges**, their early invasion of Etruria, i. 113; clients of the Aedui join Vercingetorix, iii. 330; their country invaded, 331; their capital besieged and taken, 332-4; their territory invaded by the Carnutes, 352.
- Blaesius**, Roman general, receives insignia of the triumph for successes in Africa; the last general ever saluted *imperator*, iv. 452; put to death by Tiberius, 478.
- Blandina**, Christian martyr, her torture and death, v. 507-10.
- Blenny**, nomadic African tribe, iv. 31; plunder caravans, vii. 179, 375; assist Firmus, 309; subsidized by Diocletian, abandon their predatory habits, 376; are allowed to borrow the image of Isis, 377.
- Blosius**, partisan of Tiberius Gracchus, ii. 461.
- Boadicea**, queen of the Iceni, plundered by the Romans, iv. 612; heads a British army; is defeated, and dies by poison on the battlefield, 613.
- Boocho**, king of Mauretania, father-in-law of Jugurtha, joins him against the Romans, 511-12; is promised a third of the Numidian kingdom, 513; defeated by Marius and Sylla; his vacillation and final treachery to Jugurtha, 514 and *note*; receives western Numidia, 515.
- Boeotia**. See **Thebes**.
- Bogud**, king of Mauretania, settles a private quarrel on pretext of partisanship of Antony, iii. 681; deprived of his kingdom by Octavius, 732.
- Boii**, Celtic tribe, early invaders of Etruria, i. 44, 113; defeated by the Romans, 457; outbreak in 238 B. C., 594; further hostilities, 595-8; offer alliance to Hannibal, 662; with Hannibal at the battle of the Trebia, 668; take part in the destruction of Placentia, ii. 134; finally subdued by the Romans, they withdraw into Noricum, 135 and *note*; re-appear in Gaul with the Helvetii, iii. 286; driven out of Noricum by Byrebastas, iv. 20.
- Boiorix**, king of the Cimbri, seeks battle with Marius, ii. 541.
- Bola**, city of Latium, captured from the Aequi; its lands claimed by the plebeians, i. 350; the Aequi attempt to recover it, 356; a Roman colony, 360.
- Bologna (Bononia)**, its marshes drained by the Romans, i. 33; anciently Felsina, Etruscan capital, 74; traces of ground-plan of a colony in its neighborhood, 489 *note*; battles near the city, iii. 577-9; meeting of the first triumvirate, 583.
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- Campus Sceleratus**, place where Vestal Virgins were buried alive, i. 228.
- Camulodunum**, British city, iv. 612; burned by the Romans, 613.
- Camulogenus**, Gallic general, burns Lutetia, iii. 339; defeated by Labienus, 340.
- Canary Islands**, discovered by the Phoenicians, i. 532; known to Sertorius as the "Fortunate Islands," iii. 74; iv. 226.
- Candace**, the Ethiopian queen, invades Egypt, iv. 240.
- Candidianus**, son of Galerius, put to death by Licinius, vii. 437 *note*, 463.
- Candidus**, Tiberius Claudius, *praepositus copiarum* *dux*, vi. 485 *note*; a distinguished general, 504; is reluctant to put Christians to death, vii. 72.
- Caninius Rebilus**, C., Caesar's lieutenant in Gaul, iii. 355-7.
- Cannae**, battle of, i. 684, 685 and *note*; fate of Roman prisoners after, ii. 3 and *note*.
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- Cantabri**, intractable Spanish mountaineers, i. 215, 237; iv. 201; finally subjugated, 204; their export of hams, 222.
- Canuleian Law**, i. 344-5.
- Canuleius**, C., tribune, demands political equality for the plebeians, i. 344-5.
- Canus**, Julius, Stoic philosopher, put to death by Caligula, iv. 509; his tranquil death, vi. 370.
- Canusium**, Apulian city, on the *Via Egnatia*, i. 495 *note*; faithful to Rome in the Punic Wars, 649 *note*; ii. 5 *note*; receives Roman fugitives, ii. 3.
- Capellianus**, procurator of Numidia, vii. 149 *note*; overthrows the two Gordians, 154-5; pillages the province of Africa, 160.
- Capena**, ancient Etrurian city, assists the Volscians, i. 356-7; taken by Rome, 359; receives citizenship, 370.
- Capitation**. See **Taxes**.
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- Capito**, C. Ateius, eminent Roman jurist, chief of a school, iv. 56, 344.
- Capito**, Fonteius, governor of Germany, assumes imperial rights, v. 48; is not offered the throne on Nero's death, 57; murdered by Valens, 59, 69.
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- Capitolinus**, T. Quinctius, consul, his popularity and military success, i. 311; candidate for the decemviral office, 327; defeats the Volscians, 353.
- Capo di Bove**, on the Appian Way, i. 40 *note*; iv. 345, 349.
- Cappadocia**, its king in alliance with Antiochus, ii. 110, 124; joins the Galatians for a last stand against Rome; pays two hundred talents to Rome, 126; enters into alliance with Rome, 158 and *note*, 188; Roman interference in the affairs of the kingdom, 188, 219; Roman ally in the war to obtain Pergamus; addition of territory; civil war, 222; its general assembly, 252; furnished strong

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Ariobarzanes I., elected by the Cappadocians under direction of the Senate; expelled by Mithridates, and restored by the Romans, ii. 560, 586, 609, 666; iii. 151.

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Caracalla, the Emperor (M. Aurelius Antoninus Bassianus), Byzantium re-named for him, vi. 490; proclaimed Caesar and Prince of the Youth, 495; proclaimed Augustus by the army, and associated with his father in the Empire, 509; consecrates temples to Serapis at Rome, 528; marries Plautilla, 536; repudiates her, 538; orders her death, 541; his violent and profligate character; quarrel with his brother; accompanies his father on the campaign in Britain, 574; stories of his filial impiety, 576-7; date of his birth; age at his accession; name, vii. 75 *note*; Herodian's story of his division of the Empire with his brother, 76; murders Geta, 77; is said to have apotheosized him, 77 *note*; quotes the example of Romulus; puts to death the friends of Geta, 77-8; probably insane, 78-9; his capricious tyranny, 79-81; severity as to public morals, 81; his exactions; bestows citizenship on all the inhabitants of the Empire, 81-3 and *notes*; monetary changes of his time, 81 *note*; extravagance, 83; indulgence of the soldiery, 83-4; a great admirer of Alexander, 84-5; visits Gaul, 85; organizes a Macedonian phalanx, 85, 193; leads an army into Germany, 86-7;

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- Caractacus**, British chief, iv. 538; defeated, taken prisoner to Rome, 539.
- Carausius**, the revolt of, vii. 359; attacked and defeated by Constantius Chlorus, 369.
- Carbo, C. Papirius (1st)**, triumvir for the execution of the Agrarian Law, eloquent defender of the Sempronian Law, ii. 461; appointed tribune, proposes two further measures, 462; of which one succeeds and the other is defeated, 463-4; is obliged to defend his opinions, 488-9; his suicide, 489.
- Carbo, Cnaeus Papirius (1st)**, defeated by the Cimbri, ii. 526.
- Carbo, C. Papirius (2d)**, consul, one of the authors of the Plautian-Papirian Law, ii. 611.
- Carbo, Cnaeus Papirius (2d)**, taken by Cinna as colleague in the consulship, ii. 633; erects an equestrian statue to Marius, 33 *note*; disobeys the Senate's orders, iii. 2; his measures, 3; incapable leader, 4, 5; a second time consul, 7; to operate on the north of Rome, 8; his campaign, 10-12; defeated at Faventia, escapes into Africa, 13; taken and beheaded by order of Pompey, 28.
- Caria**, a country of Asia Minor, belonging to Philip of Macedon, ii. 91; its free cities, 127; some of its territory given to Rhodes, 127; taken from Rhodes, 167, 188; its federal organization, 251 *note*; its valiant people, iii. 706-7.
- Carinas, C. (1st)**, general of the Marian party, iii. 5; in the battle of the Colline Gate, 13; put to death by Sylla, 15.
- Carinas, C. (2d)**, general under Augustus, victorious in Belgica, iv. 67.
- Carinus (M. Aurelius)**, the Emperor, appointed Caesar and made governor of the western provinces, 341; assumes the title of Augustus, 343; remains a competitor of Diocletian; partly victorious, is assassinated by one of his officers, 351; his flattery of the populace, 351 *note*.
- Caristies**. See **Parentalia**.
- Carmen Seculare**, iv. 139.
- Carmenta**, nymph of prophetic and healing powers, mother of Evander, i. 90 *note*, 139.
- Carneades**, Greek ambassador to Rome, gives lessons in philosophy there, ii. 288-9; expelled by Cato, 415.
- Carni**, a people of the Alps, ii. 249 *note*; subjugated by Aemilius Scaurus, 501, 520.
- Carnuntum**, important military position in Pannonia, on the Danube, iv. 247 and *note*; a legion posted there in the time of Hadrian, v. 332; *Municipium Allium*, 332 and *note*; residence of Marcus Aurelius for several years, 477; meeting of Diocletian and Galerius, vii. 443-9.
- Carnutes**, defeated by Caesar, iii. 353-4; called allies of the Roman people, iv. 196.
- Carpae**, of Getic race, invade the valley of the lower Danube, vi. 176, 239-365; part of the nation transported into Pannonia, 373.
- Carpathians**, mountain range of central Europe, v. 236 *seq.* 325; protect the lower Danube, 327; limit of Roman power under Trajan, vi. 181; invaded by Vandals and Heruli, 182; a shelter for the Barbarians, 183; nearly an impregnable fortress for Rome, but abandoned by Aurelian, 290-91.
- Carpetani**, a Spanish tribe, subjugated by Hannibal, i. 654; their revolt, 657; hostile to Roman power, ii. 133.
- Carrhae**, town in Mesopotamia, reached by the retreating army of Caesar, iii. 384-5; taken by Sapor, vii. 169; defeat of Galerius, 378; rendezvous of Julian's forces, viii. 216.
- Carseoli**, a city of Central Italy, colonized by the Romans, i. 402; on the line of Roman defence, 492; on the *Via Valeria*, 494.
- Carteia**, Roman colony in Spain, ii. 217 and *notes*; a military post, 349 *note*.
- Carthage**: her colonies in the Italian islands, i. 44, 76; early hostilities with the Greeks, 76, 112; commerce, 76, 526, 528-3, 533, 536; treaties with Rome, 181, 252, 549, 551; congratulates the Senate on the victories over the Samnites, i. 417; her growing strength (282 B. C.), 461; offers to help the Romans against Pyrrhus, 470, 552; growth, 525; ruins of, 525 and *note*; religion, 525 *note*, 531, 542; importance of,

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- Carthagona** (Carthago Nova), city in Spain founded by Hasdrubal, its harbor and silver mines, i. 610; Hannibal's departure, 660; Scipio's occupation of the city, ii. 54 and *note*, 58-9; its silver mines in the time of Polybius, 241 *note*.
- Carthalo**, Carthaginian envoy, i. 573, 574, 575; ii. 3.
- Cartismandua**, British queen, betrays Caractacus, iv. 539.
- Carus** (M. Aurelius), the Emperor, avenges the death of Probus, vii. 340; his origin, early career, conduct towards the Senate; appoints his sons Caesars, vii. 341; attacks Persia, 341-2; victorious over the Quadi, 342; receives an embassy from Bahram II., 342-3; victorious advance; enters Ctesiphon; his sudden death, 343; anticipated Diocletian's tetrarchy, 354 *note*.
- Carus, Metius**, an informer under Diocletian, v. 205.
- Carvilius Maximus Spurius**, consul, defeats the Samnites and Etruscans, i. 451-2; builds a temple to Fortune and erects a colossal statue of Jupiter, 453, 625.
- Carvilius Maximus Spurius Ruga**, proposes that Latins be admitted to the Senate, ii. 4, 255-6.
- Casca, P. Servilius**, one of Caesar's assassins, iii. 541; strikes the first blow, 545.
- Casci**, or Italian aborigines, i. 89.
- Casilinum**, a Campanian town, resists Hannibal, i. 535; scene of a defeat of Hannibal, 651; Roman siege, ii. 10, 18.
- Casinum**, Latin city, its local divinity, i. 124; receives a Roman colony, 436; in the second line of Roman defence, 492; its amphitheatre, vi. 83.
- Caspian** or **Hyrcean Sea**, in the route of commerce from Upper Asia, iv. 24, 224; Pompey's attempts to reach it, iii. 141; iv. 215.
- Cassian Law**, ii. 417 *note*.
- Cassiterides**, tin obtained thence, i. 75; visited by Phoenician traders, 537.
- Cassius, L.**, proconsul in Asia, threatened by Mithridates, ii. 672; escapes to Rhodes, 674.
- Cassius Avidius**, his great success against the Parthians, v. 462-3, 480-1; his revolt against Marcus Aurelius, 479; proclaimed Emperor, 481; his ambition and contempt for Marcus Aurelius, 481-2; murdered by his own troops; his death lamented by Marcus Aurelius, 483; inscriptions bearing his name, 483 *note*; the Emperor's clemency towards his family, 484 and *note*, 485; disloyal towards Antoninus Pius, 442-3, 479; his severe discipline in Asia, 453, 461-2.
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- Cassius Longinus, L.**, consul having command of Gaul, invades the Alpine country and makes many prisoners, ii. 435.
- Cassius Longinus, C.**, quaestor, with Crassus in the Parthian Expedition, iii. 384; defeats the Parthians, 385; with part of the Pompeian fleet surrenders to Caesar after Pharsalia, 468, 497; appointed praetor by Caesar, 535; hostility towards Caesar, 538; persuades Brutus to join the plot, 539; wishes to kill all the triumvirs, 542; is reconciled with Antony, 556; despoiled of Macedon by Antony, 562; seizes upon Macedon, 574, at the head of twenty legions, 583; master of the East, 584; his statue erected in Athens, 603; victory over Dolabella, 604; threatens Cleopatra; attacks Rhodes, 605; plunders many cities, 605-6; is censured by Brutus, 607; defeat and death at Philippi, 611.
- Cassius, Spurius**. See **Viscellinus**.
- Cassius of Parma** (Parmensis), conspirator against Caesar, iii. 541.

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Cato, C. Porcius, leads an expedition against the Scordisci; is killed with his whole army, ii. 520.

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Cato, M. Porcius, of Utica, sought as a partisan by Pompeius, ii. 565; seventeen years of age at the time of Sylla's death, iii. 58; supports Cicero against Caesar, 183-4; salutes Cicero as Father of his Country, 187-8; his character and manners; tribune, 188-9; accuses Murena, 190; seeks popularity by a frumentary law, 190-91; defeats the measure proposed by Metellus, 191-2; hostility to Pompey, 196, 198; unwise measures, 201; sole defender of the nobles, 205; conduct in respect to Caesar's Agrarian Law, 205-7; republican fervor, 212; is sent to Cyprus and Thrace, 220; character of this mission, 367-8; coolness towards Cicero, 368; unsuccessful candidate for the praetorship, 375; imprisoned, 376; proposes to give Caesar up to the Germans, 389; conduct towards Pompey, 392-3, 396; unsuccessful candidate for the consulship, 401; hostility towards Caesar, 407; in charge of Sicily, relinquishes it to Curio, 432 *note*; at Dyrrhachium, dissatisfied with Pompey, 454; proposes to give the chief command to Cicero after Pharsalia; protects him from Cneius Pompeius, 486; on his way to join Pompey in Egypt, learns of the

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- Catonius Justus**, praetorian prefect, put to death by Claudius, iv. 554.
- Catti**, a German tribe, defeated by Drusus, iv. 251, 256; unite with Arminius, 265; share in the victory over Varus, and obtain many Roman slaves, 270 and *note*; their country ravaged by Germanicus, 412.
- Catualda**, chief of the Gothones, his submission to the Romans, iv. 430.
- Catullus Valerius**, ode by, i. 618; a sceptic, ii. 326; his verses read in Caesar's camp in Gaul, iii. 306; sarcasms upon Caesar, 370; lyric poet, iv. 57, 328.
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- Catulus, Q. Lutatius** (1st), retreats before the Cimbri from the Adige to the Po, ii. 538-40; accepts Sylla as lieutenant, 540; his suicide, 630; *flamen dialis*, 631.
- Catulus, Q. Lutatius** (2d), Cicero's judgment of him, iii. 58; consul of the aristocratic party, 61; hostility between him and Lepidus; is sent into Gaul, 64; continues the building of the Capitoline temple, 65, 191 and *note*; introduces the use of an awning over the seats in the theatre, 68; his measures against Lepidus, 69; his victories over Lepidus, 70; the oracle of the Senate, 104; his opposition to Pompey, 117, 136; and to Caesar, 166; unsuccessful rival of Caesar for the office of pontifex maximus, 168; the wife of Catiline committed to his protection, 178; attempts to implicate Caesar in the Catilinian conspiracy, 180.
- Catus Decianus**, procurator in Britain, his exactions, iv. 612.
- Caucasus**, mountain range making the boundary between Europe and Asia, ii. 665; its inhabitants rally around Mithridates, 670; iii. 122, 131; reached by Pompey, 140, 141; its stone monuments, 267; its tribes restrained by Roman garrisons in the neighborhood, vi. 448.
- Caudium**, its site, i. 432 *note*; great Roman defeat there, "the Caudine Forks," 433-4.
- Cavalry**, the Roman, i. 515; in the time of Hadrian, v. 321; vi. 232; in the third century A. D., vii. 190. See also **Equestrian Order**.
- Cavarinus**, chief of the Senones, friendly to Caesar, iii. 318, 323, 325.
- Celestial Virgin**, Carthaginian goddess, identified with Juno and with Urania, i. 525 *note*; identified with Venus Erycina or Tanit, 542 *note*, 641; receives from Augustus the *jus trium liberorum*, iv. 163.
- Celibacy**, penalties attached to, iv. 137 and *notes*.
- Celsus**, conspirator against Antoninus Pius, v. 443.
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- Celsus**, one of "the Thirty Tyrants," incident of his consecration as Emperor; his death, vii. 267.
- Celsus, A. Cornelius**, Latin writer on medicine, iv. 333, 334.
- Celsus, Julius**, eminent jurist, v. 392 *note*; member of the imperial council, 399.
- Celsus, L. Publicius**, conspirator against Hadrian, v. 313; put to death, 314.
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- Celtiberians**, bravest and most numerous tribe in Spain, resist the Carthaginians, ii. 50; serve in the Roman army, 51; turn against Rome, 52; gallant struggle for independence, 131-4; attempt of Gracchus to civilize them, 134; outbreak suppressed, 210-13; another revolt, 216; some of their towns subjugated by Sertorius, iii. 83; heroes of ancient Spain, their long resistance to Rome, iii. 678-9; their final subjugation, iv. 204.
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- Cenomani**, early Gallic invaders of Etruria, i. 113; hostile to the Boii, 594; their alliance with Rome, 595; afford shelter to the Roman army, 599; incited to revolt by Hamilcar, ii. 134.
- Censium**, besieged by the Senones, i. 362-364.
- Censorinus, C. Marcius Rutilus**, defeated by the Samnites, i. 439. (Son of C. Marcius Rutilus, he was twice elected censor, — whence his name.)
- Censorinus, L. Marcius**, consul in command in Africa in the Third Punic War, 202; work by Clitomachus dedicated to him, 289-90.
- Censorinus, C. Marcius**, general in the Marian army, advances on Rome, iii. 13; is

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- Cinna, C. Helvius**, poet and tribune, proposal regarding Caesar's marriage, iii. 522-3 and *note*; murdered by the populace by mistake, 559.
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- Claudius Sabinus Regillensis, Appius** (2d), consul, sharp contest with the tribunes, 296-7; severity towards a Roman army defeated by the Volsci; is summoned before the comitia; his suicide, 298.
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- Claudius Caecus, Appius**, consul, censor, i. 393; most distinguished man of his time, 406-7; character of his ambition; his aqueduct, 407, 409, 626; his road, 407, 495 and *note*, 626-7; a patrician in sentiment, he introduced important democratic measures, 407-8, 410; tradition as to his blindness, 407 *note*; consul in the Samnite War, 449-50; his answer to Pyrrhus, 467.
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- Claudius Appius Pulcher, P.**, consul, his impiety and defeat at Drepanum, i. 573; appoints a freedman dictator; his probable suicide, 574.
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- Claudius Pulcher, Appius** (2d), consul, his victory over the Salassi and triumph, ii. 379, 520; unsuccessful candidate for the censorship, 427; father-in-law of Tiberius Gracchus, 447; appointed triumvir to divide the public lands, 455, 461.
- Claudius Pulcher, Appius** (3d), interrex, iii. 69.
- Claudius Pulcher, Appius** (4th), praetor, general in the Social War, ii. 626.
- Claudius Pulcher, Appius** (5th), consul, governor of Macedonia, iii. 454 *note*.
- Claudius, or Clodius, Pulcher, Appius** (6th), praetor, defeated at Mount Vesuvius, iii. 93-4.
- Claudius, or Clodius, Pulcher, Appius** (7th), praetor, censor, friend of Piso, ii. 652; his contempt of Cicero, 656 *note*; embassy to Tigranes, iii. 130-1; member of the Claudian *gens*, his name usually written Clodius, 130 *note*; censor, 410 *note*.
- Claudius, or Clodius, Pulcher, Appius** (8th), brings back to Pompey the two legions lent to Caesar, iii. 410. See also **Clodius**.
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- Cleander**, a freedman, chamberlain of Commodus, offers for sale all offices; obtains the death of Burrus; popular rage excited against him, vi. 458; his death, by order of the Emperor, 459.
- Cleanthes**, his *Hymn to Jupiter*, ii. 273.
- Clemens**, a slave of Agrippa Postumus, personates his master and conspires against Tiberius; his death, iv. 426-7.
- Clemens, Cassius**, partisan of Niger, vi. 489-90.
- Clemens, T. Flavius**, victim of Domitian's cruelty, v. 211; was perhaps a Christian, 212 *note*.
- Clemens, P. Pactumeius**, legate of Cilicia, consul, v. 439.
- Clemens Romanus**, his *Epistle to the Corinthians*, vii. 10 *note*, 20, 30, 38; basilica of, 18 *note*; knew only two orders in the Church, 22; on interchange of counsels between churches, 27 and *note*; his prayer, 48-9, 52; still recognized Rome as his country, 49.
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- Cleomenes**, father and son, Greek sculptors, to whom are attributed the Venus de' Medici and "the Orator," ii. 287 *note*.
- Cleonymus**, Spartan pirate, defeated by the Paduans, i. 445.
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- Cleopatra**, younger daughter of Antony and Cleopatra, acknowledged by her father, iii. 643; wife of Juba, ii. 650.
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- Clergy**, the Christian, legislation of Constantine in their regard, vii. 507-8 and *notes*, 509, 530 and *note*.
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- Colluthus**, Alexandrian heretic, vii. 534.
- Coloni**, under the Republic, i. 289; under the Empire, a class of agricultural laborers, vi. 13-18; free peasants, 289; recruited from the petty proprietors, vii. 207; under Constantine, viii. 37-40.
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- Colossal statues**: of Jupiter on the Capitol, i. 453, 625; of Apollo at Rhodes, ii. 265; of Nero in his Golden House, v. 13 and *note*; vi. 403 *note*; of Mercury on Puy-le-Dôme, v. 13 *note*.
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- Comes**, friend or companion of the Emperor, title originating in Hadrian's reign; hence, Count, v. 311; under Diocletian, viii. 24.
- Comes domesticorum**, first use of the title, vii. 234.
- Comes rerum privatarum**, viii. 4.
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- Cominius**, plebeian, his gallantry while Rome was held by the Gauls, i. 366.
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- Comitatenses**, the army of the line, viii. 16, 42.
- Comitia**, legal assemblies of the Roman people; of four kinds: the *Curiata*, *Centuriata*, *Tributa* (see these three words), and the *Calata*, called together by the pontiffs, to receive communications which they had to make to the people.
- Comitia Centuriata**, assembly of the Roman people, voting in centuries (*centuriæ*), established by Servius Tullius, held in the Campus Martius, i. 244; re-established, 273; patrician influence predominant, 274; only held on *dies fasti*, 274 *note*; its extensive powers, 275; the salvation of Rome, 279; receives the highest criminal jurisdiction from the Twelve Tables; *maximum comitiatum*, 337; powers of this assembly in 449 B.C., 341 *note*; elect the consuls and prætors, 386; vote without discussion, 391; democratic change in its organization; seems to have become mixed with the *Tributa*, 641-2 and *note*; conduct in the Second Punic War, ii. 17; the rich hold a very great majority, 340; change as to voting introduced by Caius Gracchus, 473-4; under the early Empire still existing, but merely nominal, iv. 408.
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- Cornely, St.**, in Gaul, legend of, iii. 264-5.
- Cornificius, L.**, accuser of Brutus for the murder of Caesar, iii. 582; builds a temple to Diana, iv. 346.
- Cornificius, Q.**, praetor, Caesar's lieutenant in Illyria, iii. 468, 485; governor of Africa, hostile to Caesar, 537; defeated and slain by Sextius, governor of Numidia, 602.
- Cornutus, M.**, proscribed by Marius and saved by his slaves, ii. 630-1.
- Cornutus, M.**, praetor, suicide of, iii. 582.
- Cornutus, L. Annaeus**, African: a Stoic philosopher; criticises Nero's poems and is exiled, iv. 599, 603; wrote in Greek, vi. 344.
- Coroneia**, town in Boeotia, place of meeting of the Boeotian League, ii. 252 *note*; an "allied city;" its citizens sold at auction by Roman governors, 380.
- Corporations** or **Colleges**, nine, founded by Numa, i. 270 *note*; sanctioned by the Twelve Tables, 337; regulated by Marcus Aurelius, v. 468-9; details of their organization under the Antonines, vi. 94-106; carry banners in processions, 482 *note*; obligatory under the Later Empire, viii. 34-6.
- Corsica**. See **Sardinia**.
- Cortinella**, mountain in Campania, i. 423.
- Cortona**, important Etruscan city, makes a thirty years' truce with Rome, i. 439.
- Coruncanius, Tiberius**, consul, his family natives of Camerium, i. 133; his victory over the Etruscans, 457; leads his troops against Pyrrhus, 467; first plebeian pontifex maximus, founds a school of jurisprudence, i. 614; ii. 330.
- Coruncanius, Tiberius**, son of the jurist, ambassador to Illyria, is killed there, i. 591.
- Corvus, M. Valerius**, legionary tribune, in the war against the Gauls, i. 377; obtains his surname, 377-8; consul at the age of twenty-three, 378; dictator, 390; consul,

- 403; in the First Samnite War, 414; great honors paid him, 416-17; legate of the dictator, 439; in the Etruscan War, 447.
- Corycus**, naval battle off, ii. 120.
- Cos**, island of the eastern Mediterranean, visited by Lucullus, iii. 123; Augustus takes from it a statue of Venus and renits part of the tribute of the island, iv. 212.
- Cosa**, an Etruscan seaport, i. 75; its ancient walls, of small circuit, still to be seen, 121; in the Roman line of defence, 492; Roman transports captured by the Carthaginians near the city, 675; one of the colonies that furnished a contingent to Rome in the Second Punic War, ii. 41; defeat of Lepidus, iii. 70.
- Cossura** or **Cossyra** (Pantellaria), island in the Mediterranean between Sicily and Africa, military post of Carthage, i. 536; taken by the Romans, 682; refuge of Carbo, iii. 28.
- Cossus, Servius Cornelius**, master of the horse, offers the *spolia opima*, i. 353.
- Cossus, A. Cornelius**, dictator, i. 381.
- Cotta, C. Aurelius**, consul, i. 569 *note*.
- Cotta, C. Aurelius**, pontifex, his sentiments on religion, ii. 291.
- Cotta, L. Aurelius**, consul, ii. 401.
- Cotta, C. Aurelius**, consul, great orator, ii. 610; popular outbreak against him, iii. 87; re-establishes the distributions; endeavors to raise the tribuneship, 101 and *note*.
- Cotta, L. Aurelius**, his law dividing the judiciary, iii. 107 and *note*; consul, 163.
- Cotta, M. Aurelius**, consul, iii. 122; governor of Bithynia, 124; blockaded in Chalcedon, 125; relieved by Lucullus, 126; besieges Heracleia, 128.
- Cotta Messalinus, Aurelius**, accused by the Senate, but defended by Tiberius, iv. 480.
- Cotta, L. Aurunculeius**, Caesar's legate in Gaul, iii. 319.
- Cotys**, Thracian king, ally of Perseus, ii. 148, 150, 156 and *note*, 189.
- Cotys**, Thracian king, author of Latin verses, iv. 3; killed by Rhaseuporis, 432.
- Cotys**, Thracian king, receives Armenia Minor from Caligula, iv. 511.
- Council of the Emperor**, established by Augustus, iv. 97-8 and *notes*; retained by Tiberius, 459; reorganized by Hadrian, v. 394-5 and *note*; under Diocletian becomes the sacred consistory, vii. 394 and *note*; its composition, viii. 3-5.
- Councils and Synods**: Council of Jerusalem, v. 3 *note*; vii. 29 *note*; Second Œcumenical, 19; council of Trent, 19 *note*; councils held in the reign of Septimius Severus, 28-9; institution of the Œcumenical, 29 and *note*; Synod of Antioch, 301; first Roman, 529 and *note*; Council of Arles, 530-1 and *note*; viii. 185; of Alexandria, vii. 537; of Nicaea, 537-51; Synod of Antioch, 552; of Tyre, 553-5; of Rome, viii. 142; rival Councils of Sardica and Philippopolis, 145-8; Synod of Sirmium, 149-50; Council of Arles, 150; of Milan, 150-2; of Rimini and of Seleucia, 156; of Alexandria, 185; Council of Constantinople, 286-8; Synod of Aquileia, 288; Councils of Saragossa and of Bordeaux, 307.
- Courage**, temple of, built by Marcellus, i. 602.
- Crassus, Calpurnius**, seeks to assassinate Trajan; is banished, v. 276.
- Crassus, L. Canidius**, in command of Antony's army, favorable to Cleopatra, iii. 656; wishes the decisive battle between Antony and Octavius to be fought at Pharsalia, 663; in command of the land forces at Actium; abandons them and joins Antony in Alexandria, 665.
- Crassus, L. Licinius**, orator, ii. 328-9, 490, 561; censor, closes the Greek schools in Rome, 561 and *note*; his rebuke of Philippus; his death, 567.
- Crassus, P. Licinius**, Roman general, defeated by Perseus, ii. 159-60.
- Crassus, L. Papirius**, dictator, i. 420.
- Crassus Dives Mucianus, P. Licinius**, pontifex and consul, his capture and death in Asia, ii. 221; a remarkable Greek scholar, 312.
- Crassus Dives, P. Licinius**, father of the triumvir in the Social War, ii. 588, 590 and *note*, 602 *note*; his death, 629; victory over the Lusitanians, 658 *note*.
- Crassus Dives, M. Licinius**, the triumvir, joins the party of Sylla, iii. 5; obtains wealth from the proscriptions, 21; praetor, commissioned for the Servile War, 96; pursues Spartacus into Rhegium, 97; defeats him and ends the war, 98; ingratitude of Rome towards him, 99; regards Caesar as a rival, 158; creditor of Caesar, 158 *note*, 196; probably not involved in Catiline's plot to murder the consuls, 163; unsuccessful attempt to obtain the mission to Egypt, 166; employed by Caesar in destroying the senatorial power; his importance, 193; protects Clodius, 196; alli-

- ance with Caesar, 203, 215; secretly hostile to Pompey, 365; supports Cato, 368; meets Caesar and Pompey at Lucca, 372; consul, 375; receives province of Syria, 376; hopes to conquer the Parthians, 377-8; his wealth, 378 *note*; his journey to Syria, 380; conduct in the province, 382; advances upon Ctesiphon, 383; defeat at Belik, 383-4; death, 384; amount of his fortune, vi. 263.
- Crassus Dives, P. Licinius**, son of the triumvir, Caesar's lieutenant in Gaul, iii. 299, 300, 301, 304, 305; assists Caesar in Rome, 376; with his father in Syria, 383; defeat and death, 384.
- Crassus Dives, M. Licinius**, proconsul of Macedonia, victorious over the Bastarnae and Daci, iv. 67.
- Crastinus, Caius**, centurion, his gallantry and honors at Pharsalia, iii. 461.
- Cratippus**, Peripatetic philosopher, iii. 602.
- Cremona**, Roman colony in Cisalpine Gaul, i. 602, 669; besieged by the Gauls, ii. 134; reinforced, 135; taken and sacked by Vespasian's army, v. 87-8.
- Cremutius Cordus**, republican historian in the reign of Tiberius: his death, iv. 466-8.
- Crete**, worthless character of its people, ii. 85 and *note*; they serve in the Roman army, 103, 162; its whetstone quarries, 241 *note*; Cretan archers, 483; its extreme fertility; singular law as to insurrections; a lair of pirates, 701-2; iii. 115; chastised by the Romans, 115-16; visited by Lucullus, 122; buys its independence from Antony, 561; united with the Cyrenaica, 701; a senatorial province, iv. 147.
- Crimen perduellionis**, iv. 463.
- Crinitus Ulpius**, adoptive father or father-in-law of Aurelian, vii. 295 and *note*.
- Criobolium**, the, vi. 390 *note*, 391 *note*.
- Crispina**, wife of Commodus, her exile and death, vi. 446.
- Crispinus, Rufus**, put to death by Nero, v. 27.
- Crispinus, T. Quinctius**, consul, his defeat and death, ii. 39.
- Crispus**, grandfather of Constantius Chlorus, vii. 273 *note*.
- Crispus, Flavius Julius**, son of Constantine and Minervina, vii. 366, 448 *note*; appointed Caesar, 464; birth of his son, 465 *note*; his campaigns in Gaul, 468; faction gathers about him, 559-60; his lessened consequence; accused of intending to murder the Emperor; imprisoned and put to death, 560; his death avenged by Helena, 561; his name effaced from the public edifices, 562 *note*.
- Critolaus**, Greek leader (146 B. C.), ii. 198.
- Critolaus**, Greek ambassador to Rome, gives lessons in philosophy there, ii. 288.
- Crocus**, king of the Alemanni, partisan of Constantine, vii. 444.
- Cross**, the, a symbol everywhere seen by the early Christians, vii. 475 and *note*; in use long before our era, 475-8 and *notes*; placed by Constantine on the *labarum*, 479 and *notes*; fragment of the true cross placed under Constantine's Pillar, 513; on coins, 518 *note*; discovered by Helena (*inventio crucis*), 570-3 and *notes*.
- Croton**, or **Crotona**, Greek colony in Italy, i. 110; its history, 111; its importance, 111, 112 *note*; its harbor available only in summer, 462 *note*; taken by the Romans, 471.
- Crustuminius**, name of a Roman *tribus*, i. 302 *note*.
- Ctesiphon**, the Parthian capital, attempt of Crassus to reach it, iii. 383; Caesar resolves to conquer it, 530; two roads for the Romans to that city, 644-5; taken by Trajan, v. 299-300; besieged and taken by Severus, vi. 507, 510; the Emperor Valerian six years a captive in, vii. 245-6; advance of Odenathus upon the city, 254; and of Julian, viii. 217-18; arch of Chosroës, 217 *note*.
- Cubicularii**, originally slaves in charge of sleeping-places; in the Later Empire, persons of high rank, vii. 3, 103.
- Cucumella**, the, i. 83, 84.
- Culleo, Q. Terentius**, president of the tribunal which fined L. Scipio, ii. 403.
- Cumae**, Campanian city, i. 34; attacked by the Etruscans and Umbrians, 59; destroys their maritime power, 77-8; taken by the Samnites, 102, 109; substitute Latin for Greek in their public records, 102 *note*; had the tusks of the Erymanthian boar, 108; most ancient Greek colony in Italy, 103-9; abode of a Sybil, 109; itself a metropolis, 109 *note*, 110; receives Tarquin the Proud, 179; had its historians, 181; its Sybil a priestess of Apollo, 237; taken by the Samnites, 353; obtains citizenship, 423; Hannibal's defeats, ii. 9, 15; omens, 44; Sylla's country-house, iii. 46.
- Cumanus, Ventidius**, procurator of Judaea, v. 115.
- Curator**, an officer sent by the Emperor to

- examine the financial affairs of a municipium, v. 465-6; vi. 68 *notes*; later development of this office, 69.
- Curator ludorum**, his duties, vi. 81.
- Cures**, ancient Sabine capital, i. 97, 145, 189; derivation of the name, 189 *note*.
- Curia**, etymology of the word, i. 121 *note*; one of the thirty parts into which Romulus divided the Roman people, 190; it received an allotment of land, 190 *note*; consisted of a certain number of *gentes*, and had its special feast-days, priests, and divinities, 191; the Senate was composed of the heads of these *gentes*, 194. The word "curia" often signifies the place of meeting of the Curiae, and under the Empire the local senates of the municipia.
- Curia Hostilia**, the first senate-house built in Rome, i. 194 *note*; burned on occasion of the funeral of Clodius, iii. 391.
- Curiales**. See **Decurions**.
- Curio, C. Scribonius**, tribune bought by Caesar, iii. 403, 407; proposes that Pompey be deprived of his position, 407-8; urges Pompey to resign, 409; proposed resignation of Caesar and Pompey, 415; opposes Pompey's dictatorship, 415; delivers Caesar's letter to the Senate, 415-16; escapes to Caesar's camp, 417; is defeated by Juba in Africa and kills himself, 437.
- Curius, Manius**, builder of the second aqueduct, i. 626.
- Cursus honorum**, iv. 105-11 and *note*; vi. 204-6 and *notes*; vii. 387 and *note*.
- Cursus publicus**. See **Post**.
- Curtius, Rufus Quintus**, Roman historian of Alexander the Great, vi. 340.
- Curtius, Mettus**, legend of, i. 124, 387.
- Cybele**, Galatian goddess worshipped at Pessinus, desired by the Romans and given to them by the king of Pergamus, i. 638-9 and *note*, 640; Pessinus a sacred city on her account, ii. 224; iv. 5-6; her worship at Rome described by Lucretius, ii. 299-300; worshipped in Constantine's time, vi. 389 and *note*; sacrifice described by Prudentius, 390; tiara worn by her priests became the episcopal mitre, 392 *note*; her temple in Constantinople, vii. 565; Julian explains legends concerning her, viii. 199.
- Cyclades**, islands in the Aegean Sea, ravaged by pirates, ii. 87; garrisoned by Philip of Macedon, 91; his garrisons expelled, 98; again ruled by the Macedonians, 169.
- Cyclopean walls** of Italian cities of Pelasgian construction, i. 50, 66; ii. 42; iii. 8.
- Cydnus**, a river of Cilicia, iii. 617.
- Cyme**, city of Asia Minor, claimed Homer; birthplace of Hesiod's father; sent colonists to Cumae, i. 109 *note*.
- Cynegius**, praetorian prefect under Theodosius, executes the Emperor's order for the prohibition of the pagan cult, viii. 294.
- Cynocephalae**, battle of, ii. 104.
- Cyprian, Saint**, bishop of Carthage, vi. 584; his offering, vii. 23; his authority, 26 *note*; his letters quoted, 28 *notes*; convokes an African council, 29; his treatise on the unity of the Church, 31; accusations against Novatus, 38; an admirer of Tertullian, 49; letter to Demetrianus, 51; first African bishop martyred, 59 *note*; on martyrdom, 69; on *lapsi*, 70 *note*, 71; precursor of Saint Augustine, 217; picture of the degeneracy of the Church, 227-8; conceals himself from persecution, 229; his martyrdom, 243, 251 and *notes*.
- Cyprus**, separated from Egypt by Rome, ii. 219; hidden treasure lately found there, 231 *note*; reduced to a province, iii. 150, 220 and *note*; given by Antony to Cleopatra, 650; its exports, iv. 223 and *note*; Jewish insurrection, v. 310.
- Cyrenaica**, separated from Egypt by Rome, ii. 219; legacy left to Rome by Ptolemy Apion; declared a province; its export of silphium, 517; united with Crete, iii. 701; its condition at the foundation of the Empire, 725-30 and *notes*; its independent spirit under Nero, 602.
- Cyriades**, one of "the Thirty Tyrants," Roman traitor; guides the army of Sapor into Syria, vii. 247; assumes the imperial title; is put to death by the Syrians, 248.
- Cyril, Saint**, his refutation of Julian's book against Christianity, vii. 504 *note*; viii. 213; on Christian quarrels, viii. 148-9.
- Cythera**, Greek island given to Sparta by Augustus, iv. 206.
- Cyzicus**, a city of Mysia, member of the league of the Greek cities, ii. 86; resists Mithridates, iii. 126, 128, 151; receives extensive territory as a reward, 151; queen of the Propontis, 711; deprived of its liberty by Augustus, iv. 186, 208; gladiatorial games, vi. 160 and *note*; mutiny in its fleet, vii. 109; threatened by Barbarians in the third century, 209.

DACIA, country of central Europe lying between the middle and lower Danube and the Carpathians; general rising in the time of Caesar, iii. 530; iv. 20; v. 195; temporary subjugation, iv. 20; question as to the Daci and Getae, 20 *note*; Dacian prisoners fight in the amphitheatre, 69; outbreak in the time of Domitian, v. 194-8 and *notes*; Trajan's wars, 233-41 and *notes*; the country made a Roman province, colonized and civilized (Dacia Trajana), 241-5 and *notes*; its language, 245 *note*; history of the Dacian War recounted on Trajan's Column, 246-54; in the reign of Hadrian, v. 324-30 and *notes*; campaigns of Maximin, vii. 148; retains but a few garrisons in the third century, 186; invaded by the Goths, 223; Regalianus, one of "the Thirty Tyrants," a Dacian, 266; lost to the Empire in the time of Gallienus, 271; formally given up to the Goths by Aurelian, 288, 290; a new Dacia established south of the Danube (Dacia Aureliana), 289-90; the Emperor Galerius a Dacian, 364; the Goths expelled by the Huns, viii. 265.

Dagalaiphus, advises Valentinian as to a colleague, viii. 229; consul, 244 *note*.

Dalmatia, made an imperial province, 148, 252 *note*; disturbances in, iv. 252, 262, 264; visited by Constantius, viii. 127. See also **Illyricum**.

Damascus, capital of Syria, in Roman possession; Pompey's visit, iii. 144-5; occupied by a Roman garrison, iv. 6; visited by Hadrian, v. 368; its churches destroyed in Julian's reign, viii. 187.

Damasus, Pope, quarrel over his consecration, viii. 236; his literary and artistic tastes, 236 *note*; his orthodoxy commended by Theodosius, 279; employs Saint Ambrose to oppose the petition of the pagan senators, 304.

Danube, river in southeastern Europe, regarded as the southern boundary of Germany in the last years of the Republic, iv. 19; its shallow mouths, 20; Barbaric tribes driven back across it in the time of Augustus, 245, 247, 252-3; bridged by Trajan, v. 234, 239-40; the bridge destroyed by Hadrian, 329-30. See also **Dacia**.

Daphne, grove sacred to Apollo, near Antioch, vii. 300; deserted in Julian's time, 500; tomb of the martyr Babylas, viii. 206.

Dardanians, people of Moesia, in alliance with

the Romans against Philip, ii. 21; their predatory incursions in the first century B. C., iii. 122 and *note*.

Dasumius, extracts from his will, v. 565-7.

Daunia, ravaged by Hannibal, i. 580.

Daunians, Pelasgian tribe in the southeast of Italy, i. 49; legend of their origin, 107; long retained their kings, 120.

Day, the Roman, how divided, ii. 475 *note*.

Dea-Dia, a telluric divinity, i. 225, 232.

Debtors, in the early Republic severely dealt with by the Roman law, i. 270, 280-2; they demand relief, 282; legal measures for that purpose, 403-5; decree of Augustus for their relief in Asia, iv. 154-5.

Decebalus, the, Dacian chief, his designs and attempts, v. 195; is defeated, 196; makes a treaty with Domitian, 197; attacked and conquered by Trajan, accepts the terms offered, 238; is again defeated, and kills himself, 240; his hope of forming an alliance with the king of Parthia, 293; wide extent of his intrigues, 324.

Decemviri (the Ten Men), name of various magistrates and functionaries at Rome: *stlitibus judicandis*, who presided over the courts formed by the centumvirs, i. 288; iv. 102 *note*; *legibus scribendis*, patrician magistrates charged with drawing up a code of laws, i. 326; their violence and injustice, 327-31; they are obliged to abdicate, 331; *sacris faciundis*, guardians and interpreters of the Sibylline Books; five of them must be plebeians, 383.

Decennalia, celebrated by Augustus, iv. 86; the custom observed by his successors, 86 *note*; vii. 260, 328; of Theodosius, viii. 300.

Decentius, proclaimed Caesar by his brother Maguentius, viii. 71; insurrection against him; his death, 73.

Decidiana, Domitia, wife of Agricola, vi. 310.

Decius, the Emperor (C. Messius Quintus Trajanus), sent by Philip to the army of Moesia, is proclaimed by them, vii. 178; tradition of his defence against the Saracens, 180; birth, character, and early career, 222; three important facts of his reign, 222-3; his war with the Goths, 223-4; defeated and slain; estimate of his policy, his persecution of the Christians, 225; probably victorious over the Dacians and Germans, 225 *note*; his re-establishment of the censorship, 225-6.

- Decius Mus, P.** (1st), military tribune, story of, i. 415, 416; at the battle of Mount Vesuvius, 420.
- Decius Mus, P.** (2d), consul, i. 449.
- Decumatian Lands** (Agri Decumates), name given by the Romans to the country east of the Rhine and north of the Danube, occupied by immigrant Gauls and subjugated Germans and Roman veterans on payment to the state of a tenth of the produce, iv. 254; line of defence established by Domitian, v. 190; important outpost of the Empire, 191; entered by the Alemanni, who are quickly driven out, vii. 66, 186-7; lost to the Empire in the time of Gallienus, 271; line of defence repaired by Probus, 334-5; who advises the Alemanni to settle in this territory, 338.
- Decuriae**, in early Rome, subdivisions of the Curia, i. 190.
- Decurions**, in early Rome, chiefs of the decuriae, i. 190; appointed to the colonial magistracies, iv. 408.
- Decurions** (*curiales*), provincial notables forming the Curia, vi. 43 *note*, 75; qualifications and election, 52-3 and *notes*, 56-7 and *notes*; their insignia, 57; their powers, 58-61; the president of the Curia, 61; the Curia receives certain appeals, 64; the decurionate highly desired under the Antonines, 74; order in voting, 75; children appointed to the office, 76 *note*; their receipts in a distribution of money, 77 *note*; the office became hereditary in the third century, vii. 200; their privileges confirmed by Diocletian, vii. 399; their condition in the Later Empire, viii. 28-31 and *notes*; a municipal nobility, 32; the hardships of their situation, 368-70.
- Dedititi**, i. 485.
- Defence**, double line of, after the Samnite War, i. 492.
- Deiotarus**, Galatian tetrarch, friendly to the Romans, defeats Mithridates, iii. 126; rewarded by the Romans, 150; brings six hundred horse to Pompey in Greece, 445; shares Pompey's flight after Pharsalia, 462; expelled from Armenia by Pharnaces, 478; a suppliant to Caesar, 481; defended by Cicero, 481 *note*; obtains Armenia from Antony, 561; abandons Antony, 661; receives the throne of Galatia from the Senate, iv. 5.
- Delatio**, ii. 369.
- Delators**. See **Informers**.
- Dellius, Q.**, Antony's envoy to Artavasdes, iii. 649; abandons Antony, 659; friend of Augustus, iv. 56.
- Delmatius, Flavius Julius**, Caesar, countries assigned him by Constantine, vii. 575; his murder, viii. 61.
- Delphi**, Greek city renowned for its oracle of Apollo, visited by the Romans, i. 170, 253; pillaged by Sylla, iii. 667-8; its Amphictyonic Council in the time of Vespasian, vi. 141.
- Demeter**, Greek goddess worshipped at Rome under the name of Ceres, i. 280.
- Demetrias**, Roman heiress, becomes a nun, viii. 195.
- Demetrias**, Caesar's arsenal at, iii. 603.
- Demetrius**, bishop of Alexandria, his hostility to Origen, vii. 43; teacher of Clement and Origen, 61; sole bishop in Egypt, 61 *note*.
- Demetrius of Pharos**, Coreyrian traitor, i. 592, 593.
- Demetrius**, son of Philip V., sent to Rome as a hostage, ii. 105; again sent to Rome as an emissary, 143; put to death by his father, 147.
- Demonax**, Cynic philosopher: his rule for government, vi. 206 and *note*; Lucian's eulogium of him, 358-9; on the immortality of the soul, 409.
- Demophilus**, Arian bishop of Constantinople, deposed by Theodosius, viii. 284; receives his sentence with dignity, 285.
- Dentatus, M. Curius**, his distributions of land, i. 402-3; his victory over the Samnites, 454; his victory over Pyrrhus and triumph, 472; his simplicity and integrity, 500-1; constructs the second Roman aqueduct, 626; his canal at Reate, 650.
- Desiderius**, proclaimed Caesar by his brother Magnentius, viii. 71; put to death by him, 73.
- Devil**, the, Chaldaean demon, vii. 7 and *note*, 8.
- Dexippus, Publius Herennius**, rhetorician and historian, vii. 216; defends Athens against the Goths, 270; relates the interview of Aurelian with Barbarian envoys, 288.
- Diadumenianus**, Caesar and Prince of the Youth, vi. 96-7; called Antoninus, 97; receives the title of Augustus, 105; his death, 106.
- Diaeus**, strategus at Sparta, ii. 193; incites the people of Corinth to revolt against Rome, 194; his army defeated at Leucopetra, 195; dies by his own hand, 198.

Diana, ancient Latin goddess, i. 126, 134; her temple on the Aventine, 163, 247; her temple at Lanuvium; identified with the Hellenic Artemis, also with Lucina, goddess of the woods, 200, 249; identified with Feronia, goddess of the poor, 236; ode of Catullus to Diana or the Moon, 618; her statue carried off by Verres from Segesta, ii. 644; identified with the Gallic Arduinna, iv. 166; the Ephesian receives from Augustus the *jus trium liberorum*, 167-8 and *note*; right of asylum of the temple limited by Augustus, 207; temple built in the reign of Augustus, 346; goddess of a guild, vi. 101; her statue at Gabii, 140; peculiar duty of her chief priest in Aricia, 457; the Ephesian, vii. 213 and *note*; her temple at Ephesus burned by the Goths, 262.

Dioearchos, a Greek in the service of Philip of Macedon, his two altars, ii. 82.

Dictatorship, an extraordinary Roman magistracy, its creation, i. 282; probably borrowed from Etruria, 282 *note*; first plebeian dictator, 389-9; dictatorial power conferred by the Senate on the consuls, ii. 483; illegal dictatorship of Sylla, lasting three years, iii. 17-45; conferred on Caesar for a period of ten years, 506-7; made a life-office, 522.

Didian Law, ii. 414 *note*.

Didius Julianus, the Emperor (M. Didius Commodus Severus Julianus), governor of Belgica under Marcus Aurelius, v. 461; his ancestry, character, and early career, 469; bids against Sulpicianus for the Empire, 469-70; accepted by the Senate, installed in the palace, ill received by the people, 471; threatened by rivals, 472; vain attempt to defend himself against Septimius Severus, 473-4; attempts to negotiate, 475; put to death by order of the Senate, 476.

Dies fasti and **nefasti**. For the administration of justice and for holding comitia the Roman year was thus divided: *dies fasti*, or *justi*, on which it was lawful for the praetor to hold his court and for the comitia to be assembled; *dies nefasti*, on which no public business could be transacted, i. 274 *note*. From a religious point of view, the year was divided into *dies festi*, dedicated to the gods and occupied in religious solemnities and festivities; *dies profesti*, belonging to men for the administration of their affairs; and *dies intercesi*, belonging partly to the gods and partly to men, 393. The term *dies ne-*

fasti, which originally had only a negative meaning, in later times became identical with *dies festi*, as the *nefasti* were usually dedicated to the service of the gods. Number of *dies fasti* under the Antonines, vi. 217.

Digest, or **Pandectae**, a compilation made by order of Justinian from the mass of juristical writings, to serve as a useful and complete body of Roman law, iv. 340 and *note*.

Dii consentes, personification of the powers of Nature, i. 128.

Dii involuti, or Fates, i. 128.

Diminutio capitis, loss of civil rights: in three degrees, — *minima*, in cases of adoption or emancipation of a son, i. 332; v. 532; *media*, by loss of citizenship, and *maxima* by loss of liberty, v. 515 and *note*.

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- of Ceres, favorable to the Carthaginians, i. 564; the Romans retain the city by treachery, ii. 25; centre of a servile outbreak, 441-3; deprived of the sacred statue of Ceres by Verres, 644.
- Ennius**, father of Roman literature, translator of Euhemerus, disrespectful towards the gods, ii. 290-1; introduces the Greek hexameter, 311; opens a school for instruction in Greek, 312; favorite of the aristocracy, 401; his statue on the cenotaph of the Scipios, 406.
- Entremont**, in Provence, most ancient relic of Gallic sculpture found here, ii. 522.
- Enyalios**, son of Mars, i. 552 and *note*.
- Epagathus**, freedman, put to death under Alexander Severus, vii. 130.
- Epagathus, Vettius**, "the Christians' advocate," v. 507.
- Epaphroditus**, freedman of Nero, assists his master to kill himself, v. 51; put to death by Domitian, 205.
- Epheesus**, principal commercial town of Asia, banishes Hermodorus, i. 327 *note*; occupied by Antiochus, ii. 118; in possession of the Romans, 123, 125; given to the king of Pergamus, 127; first in rank in the province of Asia, 253, 258 *note*; outbreak against the Romans, 674; assembly of deputies held there by Sylla, 692; entrance of Antony; his severity towards the deputies, iii. 615-16; its wealth, temple of Diana, and extensive commerce, 712; extensive right of asylum in its temple of Diana, 712 *note*; importance in the reign of Augustus, iv. 224; temple to the Roman Fortune, erected by Hadrian, v. 364.
- Ephraem, Saint**, his literary style, viii. 193 and *note*; recommends the ascetic life, 195; reproaches the monks with their vices, 197.
- Epicharis**, engaged in Piso's conspiracy, v. 20; her courageous death, 21.
- Epictetus**, philosopher, freedman of Epaphroditus, escapes from Rome in the reign of Domitian, v. 206; favorite with Hadrian, 406; regarded as a spiritual director, 409; resided at Rome, vi. 344; recommends celibacy, 358 *note*, 366; satirizes the self-examination in fashion in his time, 359; theory of morals, 359-60; Stoic teaching, 364; the real hero of Stoicism, 365; admired by Pascal, 365-6; his birth and works, 365 *note*; severe in reproof, 370 *note*; modest and quiet life, 371; his five theories concerning the gods, 401 *note*; wishes men to love the one God, 404-5 and *note*; opposed to divination, 420 *note*.
- Epicureanism**, iii. 421 *note*; recommended celibacy, vi. 358; denied the existence of the gods, 384.
- Epicurus**, ii. 270-1 and *notes*.
- Epicydes** and **Hippocrates**, in command of Syracuse, ii. 22, 26.
- Epidamnus**. See **Dyrrachium**.
- Epidauros**, a city of Greece famous for its temple of Aesculapius, i. 636-7; visited by Paulus Aemilius, ii. 176.
- Epiphanes, Saint**, on the Manichaeans, vii 414.
- Epirus**, a Greek state, its people of Pelasgian origin, i. 46; invaded by the Illyrian pirates, 591; falls into the power of the Romans, ii. 100; given up to pillage, 179.
- Epona**, Gallic divinity, iii. 255.
- Eponina**, wife of Sabinus, v. 106; desires to share his fate, 107.
- Eporedia** (Ivrea), Roman colony in northern Italy, ii. 520; iv. 598.
- Epulo**, an Istrian chief, ii. 137.
- Equality**, principle of, its triumph, i. 641, 642.
- Equestrian order**, originally knights, or *celeres*, three hundred under Romulus, his guard, chosen from the richest citizens, i. 195; increased to six hundred by the elder Tarquin, and to twelve hundred by Servius, from the cavalry of the legions, their pay, 243; *transvectio equitum*, procession of the knights, 410; divided into ten *turmae*; their weapons, 515; the *equus pricatus* and the *equus publicus*, 523; great landowners, 586; the importance of the order derived from traffic and banking, ii. 72 *note*; it contains two classes, 386; obtains the judicial positions, 474; its property qualification, 474 *note*; nearly identical with the *publicani*, 477; is deprived of a portion of the *judicia*, 548; reduced to insignificance by Sylla, iii. 37; lauded by Cicero, 105, 170, 190; distinctions in the order established by Augustus, iv. 108-9; existed under the Antonines, vi. 267-8; the order in Constantinople, vii. 566 and *note*.
- Equiriae**, i. 624 *note*.
- Ercte** (Monte Pellegrino), a mountain near Palermo, occupied by the Romans, i. 575 and *note*, 578.
- Eretum**, a Sabine city, adjacent to the Roman frontier, i. 303 and *note*; starting-point of Sabine raids, 352.

- Ergastulum**, a private prison attached to Roman farms, where slaves and men of free condition, seized for debt, worked in chains, i. 281, 404; v. 2.
- Eros**, Greek God of Love, identified with one of the Samothracian Cabeiri, i. 52; his statue by Praxiteles brought by Nero from Thespiæ, v. 41.
- Erythrae**, a city of Asia Minor, pillaged by Verres, ii. 638; the Erythraean Sibyl was said to have announced the coming of Christ, vii. 484.
- Eryx**, city and mountain in Sicily having a celebrated temple of Venus; the city destroyed by Amilcar, i. 564; position occupied by the Romans, 574; position of the city and temple, 575 *note*; pilgrimages thither, ii. 640.
- Esquædunac**, iii. 233.
- Esquiline**, one of the Seven Hills, deposit of fluvial shells, i. 42; united to the city by the wall of Servius, 162; temple of Juno and celebration of the Matronalia, 146 *note*; temple of Tellus at the foot of the hill, ii. 615; mural painting lately found there, iv. 179; this hill, originally a cemetery of slaves, was improved by Augustus and Maecenas; a palace and garden built by the latter, 346.
- Essenes**, the, a religious order of the Jews, v. 120 and *note*.
- Ethiopia**, its Phœnician commerce, i. 531; explorations of the country by Roman soldiers, iv. 38 and *note*; its queen invades Egypt and is driven out by the Romans, 240-2; explored by Flaccus in the first century A. D., 548.
- Etna** (Aetna), volcanic mountain of Sicily, outpost of the Apennines, i. 24, 26, 27; visited by Roman travellers in the second century B. C., vi. 179; Roman ruin on its top, 179 *note*.
- Etruria**, its civilization first discovered, i. 35; its influence upon Rome, 43, 117; the mystery of Western civilization, 60; its subject condition, 79, 80; destroyed by the revenge of Sylla, iii. 27.
- Etruscan language**, almost indecipherable, i. 62; inscriptions in, 62 *note*; discoveries in tombs, 70; theory of the world's duration, 79 *note*; legislation, of sacerdotal character, 118 *note*; religion, of Asiatic origin, 128; civilization, dominant in Rome in the period of the Tarquins, 237 *note*.
- Etruscans**, call themselves *Rasena*, i. 62; conjectures as to their origin, 62-5; points of similarity to the Goths, 65; theory as to their invasion of Italy, 65, 66; not hostile to strangers, 67; inventors of gladiatorial combats, 67; become masters of Italy, 68; their political organization, 68, 72; achievements in useful and decorative arts, 71-5, 85; find rivals in the Carthaginians and the Greeks, 76, 77; their territory reduced, 79; their fatal defeat at Lake Vadino, 79; their share in the civilization of Italy, 80; influence of their religion on Rome, 80; their architecture, 81, 82; left isolated (304 B. C.), 444; final subjugation, 457, 458; their influence on Roman architecture, iv. 357-8.
- Etruscus, Claudius**, freedman, imperial treasurer, vi. 223 and *note*; eulogized by Statius, 224.
- Etruscus, Herennius**, son of the Emperor Decius, appointed Caesar, vii. 223; killed in battle, 225.
- Eubœa**, Greek island held by Philip of Macedon, ii. 90, 91; in the Second Macedonian War, 98, 101; left free by the Romans, 106; invaded by the Aetolians, 112; in alliance with Antiochus, 114, 117; Eubœans sold at auction by Roman governors, 380; in the war with Mithridates, 676, 686, 687.
- Euganei**, a prehistoric people of northern Italy, i. 56.
- Eugenius**, a Roman rhetorician, appointed emperor by Arbogastus, viii. 324 and *notes*; addressed by Saint Ambrose as a legitimate monarch, 326; his endeavors to propitiate Theodosius, 326-7; his campaign against Theodosius, 327-9; defeat and death, 329.
- Eugubine Tables**, i. 58, 121.
- Euhemerus**, rationalistic philosopher translated by Ennius, ii. 290, 320, 387.
- Eumenes**. See **Pergamus, kings of**.
- Eumenes**, friend and secretary of Constantine; placed in charge of the schools of Autun, vii. 371; his liberality; oration on the opening of the schools, 372, 374 *note*.
- Eunus**, the slave insurrection headed by, ii. 441-4.
- Euphrates**, a moralist described by Pliny, vi. 311-12.
- Euphrates**, a river of western Asia, first crossed by a Roman army under Lucullus, iii. 131; crossed by Crassus, 382-3; natural boundary of the Græco-Roman world, iv. 28, 30; vi. 123; infested by Arab robbers, iv. 30;

- Trajan designs to include it within the Empire, v. 293; the two great fords, 296; Trajan crosses the river, 297; Roman fleet descends it, 299; it is again proved the natural frontier of the Roman Empire in the East, 302; crossed by Severus, vi. 491, 505; Roman fleet upon the river, 506-7; Roman province organized beyond it, 512; two great roads crossing it, 513; canal connecting it with the Tigris; Julian on the Euphrates, viii. 217.
- Eusebia**, second wife of the Emperor Constantius, eulogized by Julian, viii. 61 *note*; protector of Julian, 85; unfounded conjecture as to their relations, 85 *note*; suggests that Julian be appointed prefect of Gaul, 88; her gifts to him on his marriage, 89; her death, 127.
- Eusebius**, bishop of Caesarea, on the prosperity of the Empire under Diocletian, vii. 407; on the toleration of the Christians at that time, 409 and *note*; on Christian excesses of zeal, 411-12, 413; on faults of Christian communities, 415; his story of the burning of the palace, 418-19; on persecutions, 424, 427 and *note*; on the victory at the Milvian Bridge, 458-9; on Licinius, 466 and *note*, 471; on Constantine, 472 and *note*, 473; instances of his cowardice and time-serving policy, 472 *note*; on Maxentius, 480; furnishes copies of the Scriptures to the clergy of Constantinople, 501; on the Emperor's conduct at Byzantium, 501; exaggerates the destruction of pagan temples, 502; and prohibition of divination, 504 *note*; on Constantine's delay of baptism, 518; refuses the see of Antioch, 548 *note*; desires to compromise, 551; concerning the discovery of the Holy Sepulchre, 571-2; and the journey of the Empress Helena, 573; on Constantine's dealings with the Goths, 574; on the peace made with the Persians, 577.
- Eusebius**, bishop of Nicomedeia, a zealous Arian, accused of fomenting discord between Constantine and Licinius, vii. 468; shelters Arius, 536; at the Nicene Council, 548 *notes*; exiled with Arius, 549 *note*; his transference to the See of Constantinople; recalled by Constantine, 551; baptizes the Empress, 578; superintends Julian's studies, viii. 75 *note*; adviser of Constantius, 141; obtains the see of Constantinople, 142; his death, 143.
- Eusebius**, bishop of Vercelli, resists Constantius, viii. 151; is exiled, 152.
- Eustathius**, orthodox bishop of Antioch, vii. 548 *note*; very active against Arius; accused of Sabellianism, 552.
- Eustathius**, Cappadocian philosopher, sent by Constantius as ambassador to Sapor, viii. 115 *note*, 137 and *note*.
- Eutherius**, Julian's chamberlain in Lutetia, viii. 105.
- Eutropia**, sister of Constantine, killed with her son Nepotianus, viii. 71.
- Eutropius**, Roman chronicler, viii. 21 *note*; with Julian on the Persian expedition, 219, 221.
- Euxine** (Black Sea), the, all its coasts except Thrace subject to Mithridates, ii. 669; frontier intrusted to the charge of Polemon, iv. 6; its European shores given up to Barbarians, 20-4; Greek colonies on its northern shore, 24; its pirates, 24-5; eastern boundary of Moesia, vi. 133. See also **Cimmerian Bosphorus** and **Dioscurias**.
- Evander**, i. 139.
- Evodus**, a freedman, superintends the execution of Messalina, iv. 559-60.
- Exedares**, king of Armenia, established and afterward abandoned by Chosroës, v. 293.
- Exile**, a Roman punishment of various degrees of severity: *exsilium* of three kinds under the Republic replaced by *deportatio* under the Empire; *relegatio* of two kinds, ii. 655; iv. 282 *note*, 406 *note*.
- Extraordinarii**, i. 515.
- FABIAN**, bishop of Rome, martyred under Decius, vii. 230.
- Fabian gens**, of Sabine origin, i. 133; exiled itself, 293; avenged by the people, 294; gallantry in the Gallic invasion, 364. See also **Ambustus**.
- Fabiola**, Christian woman, viii. 195.
- Fabius Maximus, Q.** (Rullianus), story of his insubordination, i. 429-31; consul in the Samnite War, 435, 439; proconsul, 440, 442, 443; consul, 450; defeats the Etruscans, 448; consul, 449, 450; triumph of, 451; serves under his son, 493.
- Fabius Maximus, Q.** (Gurges), general in the Samnite War, his triumph, i. 453.
- Fabius Maximus, Q.** (Cunctator), dictator, successful against the Ligurians, i. 595; Roman ambassador to Carthage, 658; pro-

- dictator, 676; pursues Hannibal, but will not fight, 679-81; before Capua, ii. 15; the great aristocratic leader, 17; consul for the fifth time (209 B. C.), 38; re-takes Tarentum, 39; unfriendly to Scipio, 61.
- Fabius Maximus, Q.**, legate of Caesar in command of three legions at Narbo, iii. 432.
- Fabius Pictor, C.**, paintings of, i. 625; iv. 335.
- Fabius Pictor, Q.**, annalist, passage from, i. 220 *note*; present at the victory of Telamon, i. 598; date of writing, 614, 617; sent to Delphi, ii. 2; a purely Roman author, 327.
- Fabius Vibulanus, Caeso** *quaestor parricidii*, pronounces sentence of death against Cassius; seven years consul, i. 292; attempts to enforce the Agrarian Law; defeated, abandons the city, and is killed, with most of the Fabian *gens*, by the Etruscans, 293.
- Fabius Vibulanus, M.**, victory and death in battle with the Veientes, i. 292.
- Fabrateria**, a Volscian city, threatened by the Samnites and protected by Rome, i. 427.
- Fabricius, L.**, builder of the *Pons Fabricius*, i. 176.
- Fabricius Luscinus, C.**, his successes in 278 B. C., i. 470.
- Fabulae Atellanae**. See **Atellane Farces**.
- Factiones of the Circus**, companies of charioteers, increased by Domitian from four to six, v. 179; source of great public excitement, vi. 218.
- Faesulae** (Fiesole), Etrurian city, in the Gallic War, i. 597; in the Second Punic War, 670; sides with the Italians in the Social War, ii. 595; at the beginning of the Civil War, iii. 63-4.
- Fairs**, annual, held in Italy, iv. 218-19.
- Falarica**, a javelin, with a bunch of lighted tow attached to it, used by the Saguntines, i. 655.
- Falcidian Law**, ii. 332; iii. 626 *note*.
- Falco, Q. Sossius**, accused of conspiracy under Pertinax, vi. 468.
- Falernus ager**, a district famous for its wine, taken away from Capua, i. 420.
- Faliscans**, or **Falerians**, Etruscan people, support the Fidenates, i. 353; hostility towards Rome, 356; make a treaty with Rome, 359; join Tarquinius against Rome, 375; seek for peace, 417; great defeat by Carvilius and heavy war-indemnity, 452.
- Fannia**, second wife of Helvidius Priscus, vi. 317.
- Fannian Law**, ii. 414 and *note*.
- Fannius Strabo, C. (1st)**, consul, author of the first sumptuary law at Rome, ii. 414, 427.
- Fannius Strabo, C. (2d)**, consul, hostile to Caius Gracchus, ii. 427.
- Fannius Strabo, C. (3d)**, son-in-law of Laelius, author of Roman Annals, ii. 427 *note*.
- Fanum Fortunae** (Fano), on the *Via Flaminia*, i. 495; inscription in honor of Aurelian, vii. 292.
- Fasces**, a bundle of rods having an axe bound in with them: Etruscan insignia, i. 68; introduced into Rome by the elder Tarquin, 160; borne before the consuls, 273; wreathed with laurel, 274 *note*; borne before the dictator, 282; number increased for the decemviri, 328. The praetors, the proconsuls, and the quaestors in the provinces are the other Roman magistrates to whom this honor belonged. The fasces were carried on the lictor's shoulder, and to lower them in any one's presence was to acknowledge him a superior, as in the case of Pompey and Metellus, iii. 84.
- Fascinum**, an amulet, i. 218; ii. 36 *note*.
- Fascinus**, a Roman divinity, i. 218; special protector of the vestals, 227.
- Fasti**, the sacred books in which the *dies fasti* of the year were marked. The term was also employed to denote registers of various kinds, which may be divided into two classes, the *Fasti sacri*, or calendars, and the *Fasti annales*, or chronicles. To the former class belong the *Calendarium Rusticum Farnesianum*, i. 263 and *note*; the calendar which M. Flavius, clerk to the censor, made public in 304 B. C., 393 and *note*; and that of Aelius, 201 B. C., ii. 329 *note*. To the latter class belong the *Fasti Magistratum*, the *Fasti Triumphales*, i. 183; and the most important specimen, the *Fasti Capitolini*, — a list of consuls, dictators, and censors, with the *lustra* which they closed, and of triumphs and ovations, extending from the expulsion of the Kings to the death of Augustus. This list was engraved on marble tablets, of which several fragments were discovered in 1547 in excavating the Roman Forum, ii. 280.
- Faunus**, ancient Latin divinity, i. 90 *note*; an early Latin king, 138; god of the fields, 203; his sanctuary on the Insula Tiberina, 637; on a Hermes, ii. 36; his worship wide spread, iv. 184.

- Fausta, Flavia Maximinia**, given in marriage to Constantine, vii. 448 and *note*; betrays her father's designs upon her husband's life, 450; mother of a large family, 465; her hostility to Crispus, 559-60; incurs the anger of Helena; is put to death by Constantine, 561; her character, 562; name effaced from the public edifices; her palace given to the bishops of Rome, 562 and *note*.
- Faustina, Annia**, wife of Antoninus Pius, v. 434; her character, death, apotheosis, 454-5; charity founded in her honor, 455; accusations against her probably calumnies, vi. 313.
- Faustina, Annia**, daughter of Antoninus Pius, wife of Marcus Aurelius, v. 434; desires the Emperor to be severe towards Avidius Cassius, 484 and *note*; question as to her character, 487-90 and *notes*; mother of two sons and four or five daughters, 489 *note*; apotheosized, 490; her appearance, 490 *note*; called *mater castrorum*, vi. 192; accusations against her probably calumnies, 313.
- Faustina, Annia**, descendant of Marcus Aurelius, third wife of Elagabalus, vii. 115.
- Faustina, Maxima**, third wife of the Emperor Constantius, viii. 127 *note*.
- Favonius**, "Cato's ape," iii. 389, 457, 541; his sarcastic language to Pompey, 424; joins the latter after Pharsalia, 462.
- Favorinus**, priest of the Gauls, v. 356 *note*; an important personage at Ephesus, 360; relations with Hadrian, 404 and *note*, 405; and with Antoninus Pius, 406; urges mothers to fulfil their duties, 522; wrote in Greek, vi. 344.
- Federative Republic**, Latin theory of, i. 499 *note*.
- Felicissimus**, master of the Roman mints under Aurelian, instigates a sedition, vii. 320-21.
- Felicitas, Saint**, *Acta* of, vii. 71 and *note*.
- Felix, Pope**, successor of Liberius, viii. 155 and *note*; violently expelled from Rome, 157.
- Felix, Antonius**, procurator of Judaea, v. 115.
- Felix, M. Minucius**, Roman lawyer and Christian apologist; character in his *Octavius*, vi. 387; concerning the Christians, 428, 432 *note*, 584; his *Octavius*, vii. 5 *note*, 6 *note*; argues against the pagans, 37; a Roman lawyer, character of his work, 37 *note*; his *Octavius* quoted, 38 *note*, 40, 56; extreme hostility to Rome, 49, 51; date of his *Octavius*, 51 *note*; on the innocence of the Christians, 56; on their number, 62 *note*; testifies to friendships between pagans and Christians, 71; on the symbol of the cross, 475 *note*.
- Feralia**, festival of the dead, i. 211-12.
- Ferentinum** (Ferentino), Latin city, member of the Hernican Confederation, i. 92 and *note*; tyranny of Roman magistrate, ii. 573.
- Feriae Latinae**, Latin festival held on the Alban Mount; Rome finally obtains the supremacy on these occasions, i. 127, 166; Caesar saluted as king at one of them, iii. 529.
- Feronia**, ancient Latin divinity, i. 204 and *note*; protectress of the common people, 236; rites of her worshippers, iv. 217-18.
- Feronia**, an Etrurian town named for the goddess, iv. 217.
- Fescennina carmina**, popular poetry of early Rome, i. 620-21.
- Festivals** (*feriae*), of Fortuna, i. 201-2; in honor of the dead, 212; extremely numerous in early Rome and of a coarse and rustic character, 232; the *Ambarvalia* and the *Amburbalia*, 233; the *Compitalia* and *Paganalia* instituted by Servius, 241; many of a religious character, 618; the floral games, 622; festivals of Anna Perenna, 623; their number reduced by Augustus, iv. 216; number and variety under the Antonines, vi. 216-18; in the Later Empire, viii. 56-8.
- Festus, Sextus Pompeius**, grammarian, vii. 217 *note*.
- Festus, Valerius**, legate under Vitellius in Africa, becomes a partisan of Vespasian, v. 136.
- Fetiales** (heralds), a college of Roman priests, twenty in number, who acted as the guardians of the public faith in respect to hostilities with foreign nations: employed by the Ligurians, i. 54; established among the Aequi, 132; *jus fetiale* originated with early Latins, 132, 134; instituted at Rome by Numa, 147; ceremony of the *fetiales* in regard to the contest of the Horatii and Curiatii, 151; the customary formalities on declaration of war, 230-1; always patricians, 393; action of the *fetiales* after the Samnite victory of Caudium, 433; their expedient for declaring war against Pyrrhus, 465; their oath by Jupiter Lapis, 552.

- Fetichism** in the early Roman religion, i. 217, 218.
- Fidenae**, ancient Etruscan colony south of the Tiber, i. 67; victories of Romulus over the Fidenates, 146; and of Tullus, 155; five miles distant from Rome; reduced in 426 B. C., 302 *note*, 353; assassinates Roman ambassadors and is punished, 353.
- Fides**, or **Fidelity**, divinity of early Rome, i. 123, 222; his temple on the Capitoline Hill, 149, 460.
- Fimbria, C. Flavius**, attempts to murder Mucius Scaevola at the funeral of Marius, ii. 632; kills Flaccus in Asia, 690; is abandoned by his soldiers and takes his own life, 691.
- Financial** administration of the Roman state. Under the Republic the Senate had the control of public expenses, i. 509; ii. 367. Absolutely controlled by Caesar as dictator for life, iii. 523; under the Empire, the power of the Senate became merely nominal, the finances being administered by the Emperor, who was supreme master of the *Aerarium populi*, of the *Fiscus*, and of the *Aerarium militare*, iv. 78, 103, 159.
- Fines**, inflicted by all magistrates, i. 323-4; a very general form of punishment in early Rome for all offences against individuals, 334; moneys thus received paid to the aediles, and employed in the repair of public buildings, ii. 367; inflicted by the municipal magistrates, vi. 40, 52, 53; a great source of revenue under the Later Empire, viii. 12.
- Finns** and **Pelasgians**, earliest civilized nations of Europe, i. 46.
- Fire**, early private and public worship of, i. 209, 229.
- Fire-ships**, ancient, ii. 119 *note*.
- Firmicus Maternus, Julius**, explorer of Africa in the time of Claudius, iv. 548.
- Firmicus Maternus, Julius**, author of *Errors of Paganism*, vi. 389; contrasts the *taurobolium* with the Christian doctrine, 390; eager adversary of paganism, viii. 134.
- Firmilianus**, bishop of Caesarea, his opposition to Pope Stephen, vii. 30 and *note*, 43.
- Firmus**, Mauretanian chief, in the time of Theodosius, his rebellion, viii. 249; defeat and death, 250.
- Firmus, M.**, Aurelian's address to the Senate after overthrowing him, vi. 211; his revolt in Egypt and assumption of the purple, vii. 309; defeat and death, 310.
- Fiscus**, etymology of the word, i. 257; on the establishment of the Empire, employed to designate the Emperor's treasury as distinguished from that controlled by the Senate, which still retained the early name, *aerarium*, iv. 159. (After Hadrian's time the two words were used indiscriminately for the imperial treasury.)
- Flaccilla, Aelia**, wife of Theodosius, mother of Arcadius and Honorius, viii. 298; her statue thrown down in Antioch, 301; her death, 308 *note*.
- Flaccus, C. Valerius**, Roman poet who praises Domitian, v. 185; wrote upon the Argonauts, vi. 333.
- Flaccus, Hordeonius**, consular legate of Upper Germany, v. 69; compelled to resign his position, and murdered by the soldiers, 100.
- Flaccus, L. Pomponius**, general under Claudius in Upper Germany, iv. 543.
- Flaccus, L. Valerius**, selected by Cinna as colleague in the consular office, ii. 633; his extortion in Asia, 646; advances into Asia, 689; is killed by Fimbria, 690.
- Flaccus, Pomponius**, governor of Syria, iv. 489 *note*.
- Flamens**, the name for any Roman priest who was devoted to the service of one particular god: Flamen Dialis (priest of Jupiter), strict rules for his conduct given by Fabius Pictor, i. 220 *note*; the Flamen Dialis, Flamen Martialis, and Flamen Quirinalis, the three most honored; lighters of the altar, 225; flamens in the municipia, iv. 167, 170; vi. 49 and *note*, 70; the Flamen Augusti, 171, 291; expense in obtaining the office, vii. 200; privileges and immunities of flamens confirmed by Constantine, 518 and *note*.
- Flaminian Way**. See **Via Flaminia**.
- Flamininus, T. Quintius**, in command against Philip of Macedon, ii. 99; puts the enemy to flight, 100; takes up winter-quarters at Anticyra, 101; negotiates with Philip, 102; seizes upon Thebes, 103; wins a victory at Cynocephalae, 104; disarms and humiliates Philip, 104-5; announces liberty to Greece, 106; negotiates with Nabis, tyrant of Lacedaemon, 107; returns to Rome and receives a triumph, 108; treasure brought back by him, 108 *note*; contempt of the Greeks,

- 112; again sent into Greece, 113; his activity and success, 114, 118; hostility to Philopoemen, 144; ambassador to Prusias to demand the head of Hannibal, 145, 146; his public career, 340.
- Flaminius, Caius**, Roman general, proposes to divide the lands of the Senones, i. 595; in command against the Gauls; consul, an attempt to annul his election, 599; his victory, 600; censor, begins the building of the *Via Flaminia*, 603, 626; in command against Hannibal; hostility of the nobles, 671; departs from Rome without the usual ceremonies, 672; is defeated and killed at Thrasimene, 673-5.
- Flamma, Calpurnius**, self-devotion of, i. 564.
- Flammeum**, a saffron-colored veil worn by the bride on her wedding-day, v. 538; worn always by the flamen's wife, 539.
- Flavian Law**, i. 393 *note*.
- Flavianus**, praetorian prefect, vii. 130.
- Flavianus**, bishop of Antioch, implores mercy for the city, viii. 302.
- Flavianus**, chief of the pagan party, appointed prefect by Eugenius, viii. 325; makes formal purification of the city, and performs the *taurobolium*, 326; his death, 327.
- Flavii**, the first: Vespasian, Titus, and Domitian, v. 98-215; the second: descendants of Constantius Chlorus, vii. 440-viii. 223.
- Flavius, Cnaeus**, his publication of the calendar, i. 393, 409; made curule aedile, 409.
- Flavus, Subrius**, conspirator against Nero; his courageous death, v. 21.
- Flora**, early Roman goddess, i. 124, 125; rival of Feronia, 204; festival in her honor, 622.
- Florentius**, prefect in Gaul, Julian's disagreement with him, viii. 100, 104; his hostility to Sallust, 113-14; Julian's magnanimity towards him, 165.
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- Fora**, places where markets were held in sparsely settled districts of Italy, i. 496-7 and *note*.
- Formiae** (Mola di Gaëta), legend of the giant Lestraegones, i. 95; a Latin city, neutral in the Latin War, 418; receives limited citizenship, 423.
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- Forum**, the Augustan, built by Augustus on his own land, with a temple of Mars and statues of the great men of the Republic, iv. 299.
- Forum Boarium**, a large, irregular open space between the Tiber and the Palatine Hill, used in early times as a cattle-market: a bronze ox set up there in memory of an exploit of Hercules, i. 139; two Gauls and two Greeks buried alive there, 596; arch of the money-changers erected there in honor of Septimius Severus and Julia Domna, vi. 569.
- Forum**, the Julian, built by Caesar, its adornments, iii. 509.
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- Fossa Drusiana**, canal dug by the legions of Drusus between the Rhine and the Yssel, iv. 251.
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- Games** (*ludi*), general name for chariot and horse races, contests of athletes, exhibitions of wild beasts fighting with one another and with men, and slam-fights on land and water which took place at Rome on various occasions, chiefly at the festivals of the gods, originally of religious character and Etruscan origin, i. 158, 268, 387. See also **Ludi**.
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- Hercules**, legend of his presence in Latium, i. 139 and *note*; identified with the Greek Heracles, 204; first mention of his worship in Rome, 204 *note*; worshipped by the *gens* Potititia, 206; Saxanus, the civic divinity of Tibur, 303; the Phoenician (Melkarth), 526 *note*; iii. 235; iv. 167; Musagetes, his temples at Rome, ii. 128; iv. 346; standard weights and measures under his charge, 216-17.
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- Hermanric**, Ostrogothic king, viii. 262; unable to rouse his people to fight the Huns, takes his own life, 264-5.
- Hermas**, Christian Father, his *Pastor*, vii. 22 *note*, 30 *note*, 36, 40 *note*.
- Hermodorus**, an Ephesian, explains the Greek laws to the decemvirs; statue erected in his honor, i. 327 and *note*, 625.
- Hermogenes**, early heretic, encountered by Tertullian, vii. 37.
- Hermogenes**, master of the cavalry, confirms the election of Paul, and is murdered in a subsequent riot, viii. 143.
- Hernicans**, a Sabine people of central Italy, i. 91; a peaceful race; their confederation of towns, 92, 499 *note*; their written records, 182; threatened by the Aequi and Volsci, 305, 311; their treaty with Rome, 307; allies of the Romans against Veii, 356-7; support the Gallic invaders, 374-5; are defeated by the Romans, 376; in alliance with Rome against the Samnites, 418-19; unite with the Samnites against Rome, and are

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- Hiarbas**, king of Numidia, sides with the Marian party; is defeated and killed, iii. 30.
- Hiempsal**, son of Micipsa, murdered by Jugurtha, ii. 500.
- Hierarchia**, "the sacred hierarchy" of Constantine, its germ found in the institutions of Augustus, iv. 376.
- Hierax**, Egyptian heresiarch, vii. 414.
- Hiero I**, tyrant of Syracuse (478 B. C.), defeats the Etruscans, i. 77-8.
- Hiero II**, tyrant of Syracuse (270 B. C.), defeats the Mamertines, i. 553; unites with the Carthaginians in besieging Messina, 556; ally of the Romans, 557, 559, 585; ii. 22; his care in protecting Syracuse, 25.
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- Himilco**, defender of Lilybaeum, i. 574.
- Himilco**, Carthaginian general, ii. 11.
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- Hirtius, A.**, personal and political friend of Caesar, author of the eighth book *De Bello Gallico*, iii. 528; consul elect for 43 B. C., 535; consul, makes an attempt to preserve peace between Octavius and Antony, 574; enters on the campaign in Cisalpine Gaul, 575; killed before Modena, 578.
- Hispala Fecenia**, a freedwoman, denounces the Bacchanalia, ii. 301-2; is protected, 302-3; and rewarded, 304 and *note*.
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- Hortensius, Q.**, orator, joins Sylla near Elatea, ii. 681; in the battle of Chaeronea, 684-5; his pursuits, iii. 58; abandons politics, 210; proconsul in Macedon, supports Brutus, 603;

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- Hosius**, bishop of Cordova, the Emperor's secretary for religious affairs, vii. 497 and *note*; probably author of one of the Emperor's edicts, 533; carries Constantine's letter into Egypt, 537; presides at the Council of Nicaea, 538 and *note*, 543; signs first the canons and credo of the council, 543 *note*; and the synodal letter, 546; sent by the Pope to Constans, viii. 145; presides at the Council of Sardica; is excommunicated by the Council of Philippopolis, 146; resists Constantius, and is exiled, 152; submits, and is recalled, 156.
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- Hypatia**, pagan martyr, viii. 297 and *note*.
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- Hyrcanus II.**, his quarrel with his brother Aristobulus, iii. 144-5; reinstated as high priest, 146.
- IAMBLICUS**, an Arab chief, partisan of Antony, iii. 660; put to death by the latter, 661.
- Iamblichus**, Neo-Platonic philosopher, descended from the priests of Emesa, vi. 547 *note*; author of a Life of Pythagoras, 582 *note*; miracle-worker, 588; viii. 207.
- Iamblicus**, later Neo-Platonic philosopher, friend of the Emperor Julian, extremely hostile to Christians, viii. 207.
- Iapodes**, mountaineers of the Julian Alps, defeat the Romans, iii. 686; are subdued by Octavius, 689.
- Iapygians**, ancient Italian nation, i. 106; furnish auxiliaries to Rome in the Gallic invasion, 591.
- Iassos**, Greek city of Asia Minor, iii. 711.
- Iazyges**, a Sarmatian people, protected by the Romans, vi. 444; defeated by Marcus Aurelius, 486; invade Roman territory, vii. 288; defeated by Carinus, 351; defeated by Galerius, 373.
- Iberia**, visited by Pompey, iii. 140; geographical position, and character of the inhabitants, iv. 25-6.
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- Icelus**, freedman of Galba, allows funeral rites to Nero, v. 51; announces Nero's death to Galba, 56; his influence supreme with Galba, 59.
- Iceni**, a British tribe, their king leaves half his possessions to Nero, iv. 612.
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- ICILIUS, L.**, author of an agrarian law, i. 350.
- ICILIUS, SPURIUS**, tribune of the people, his law for the protection of the tribunes, i. 297.
- Iconium**, chief city of Lycaonia, iii. 150, 707.
- Icosium (Algiers)**, a Roman colony in Mauretania, vi. 149; taken and burned by Firmus, 249.
- Idaeae Mother**, the, a name of the Goddess Cybele, i. 638.
- Idistavicus**, the "Fairies' Plain," battle of, iv. 415.
- Igilgilla (Djidjilli)**, a Mauretanian seaport, viii. 248.
- Ignatius, Saint**, on the orders in the Church, vii. 22 *note*; on his approaching martyrdom, 68.
- Iguvium (Gubbio)**, ancient city of central Italy; the Eugubine Tables found there, i. 58 *note*; some of its inhabitants receive citizenship, ii. 581; opens its gates to Caesar, iii. 426.
- Ilercaones**, a Spanish tribe, iii. 83.
- Ilerda (Lerida)**, important city in Spain, besieged and taken by Caesar, iii. 435-40 and *notes*; exported oil to Rome, iv. 222; devastated by the Franks, vi. 236.
- Ilium**, or **Troy**, legend attaches it to Rome, i. 140 and *note*; the new city destroyed by Fimbria, ii. 691; protected and left free by Rome, iii. 709; its privileges confirmed by Augustus, iv. 207; celebrated in verse

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- Illustres**, an honorary designation in the time of Augustus for knights of noble origin, still existing in the time of Diocletian, vii. 383; applied by Constantine to the first class of magistrates and officials, viii. 22.
- Illyricum**, or **Illyria**, a coast inhabited by pirates, i. 590; Roman embassy murdered by order of the Illyrian queen, 591; hostilities between Rome and Illyricum, and peace advantageous to Rome, with cession of Illyrian territory, 592; second war with Rome and complete subjugation, 593; Roman outpost against Macedon, 593, 603; its king invades Macedon, ii. 98; receives a part of Macedon, 106; devoted to Rome, 151; its subjugation gave Rome the Adriatic sea-coast, 223; piratical character of the inhabitants, iii. 686-8; boundary of the province, 686 *note*; united with Dalmatia as a province, iv. 147; Greek Illyria included merely the sea-coast of the Adriatic from Epirus to the country of the Liburni; Roman Illyria extended as far as the River Arsia, which was the boundary between it and Istria. In the third century A. D. the name Illyricum frequently designates the whole eastern peninsula, Macedon and Greece excepted, vii. 270, 271, 335, 336, 356, 367; the Empire strengthened by the Illyrian Emperors, 273-439; Illyria one of the four prefectures into which Constantine divided the Empire, viii. 10.
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- Images** of the Emperors, on the standards, vii. 479 and *note*.
- Immorality**, spread of, in Rome during the last century of the Republic, ii. 276-7.
- Immortality**, vague belief in a future life among the early Romans, i. 128; universality of this conviction, 128 *note*; vi. 377-8; referred to in Cicero's *Dream of Scipio*, ii. 429; belief of the Barbarians, iii. 530; strong faith of the Jews on this subject in the time of the Maccabees, v. 123 and *note*; teachings of the philosophers, vi. 411-20; the fundamental doctrine of Christianity, vii. 3-8; views of the Emperor Julian, viii. 179 and *note*.
- Immunes**, class of cities exempt from taxation, ii. 244 and *note*.
- Immunity**, freedom from taxes, or freedom from services which other citizens had to perform: granted to physicians by Augustus, iv. 334; to physicians and professors, by the Antonines, vi. 107; to temples and churches, under Constantine, vii. 507; and to pagan and Christian priests, 508; to ship-owners and merchants who provisioned Rome, 567 *note*; viii. 34 *note*; to retired officials, 9, 25, 30; to veterans, 43 *note*.
- Imperator**, derived from the Samnite *Embradur*, i. 120; title borne by a Roman general who possessed the imperium, iii. 522; implying the supreme command of the armies, is given to Caesar for life, and to be hereditary in his family, 522; conferred on Augustus for life by decree of the Senate, iv. 70; originally a title of honor conferred on a victorious general by his soldiers, 71 *note*; used as a praenomen by Nero and subsequent Emperors, as appears from coins and inscriptions, where the title followed by a numeral indicates that it has been specially assumed so many times on occasion of victories, 292.
- Imperium**, power conferred by the state on an individual appointed to command an army. *Imperium militare*, in the Republic, was conferred on the King by a decree of the Comitia curiata, i. 161, 194; after the expulsion of the Kings it was conferred on the consuls, 275, 503; the *merum imperium*, its highest form, ii. 237.
- Inciatus**, Caligula's horse, vi. 285.
- Incola**, the dweller in a city of which he is not a native, and where he has not citizenship, vi. 25.
- India**, commodities of, imported by Rome, iv. 158 and *note*, 218, 224-5.
- Indibilis**, Spanish chief, ally of Carthage, i. 652 *note*; unites with Scipio, ii. 56.
- Indiction**, amount of each year's tax declared by the praetorian prefect, vii. 397.
- Indigetes**, deified ancestors of the Romans, i. 125.
- Indigitamenta**, a part of the pontifical books, containing the names of the gods and prescribing the manner in which their names should be used in public worship, i. 125, 205.
- Indutiomarus**, chief of the Treviri, iii. 314, 319.

- Infamy** (the *Nota Infamia*), viii. 396.
- Informers** (*delatores*), a class of men who gained their livelihood by informing against their fellow-citizens, iv. 444, 464; are themselves condemned if they fail to make good their accusation, 473, 479; laws against them, vii. 459 and *note*; they are appealed to by Constantine, 559; and by Theodosius, viii. 288.
- Ingenuus**, one of the "Thirty Tyrants," distinguished by Valerian, vii. 235; proclaimed by the Pannonian legions; his defeat and death, 260.
- Inguiomar**, chief of the Cherusci, assists Arminius, iv. 429; jealous of him, withdraws, 430.
- Insignia**, many of the Roman, received from Etruria, i. 134 and *note*; *laticlave*, 134 *note*; *praeextata* and *bullae* worn by boys of free birth, 209 *note*; v. 524; *fascies*, i. 273 *note*; *fascies* and axes, 282; of the governors, iii. 42 *note*; *curule chair* and *ivory wand* of the consuls, vi. 200; *laurel-wreath* for soldiers, vii. 72 *note*; great importance attached to them in the later Empire, viii. 49-50.
- Interamna**, on the Liris, a colony of Rome, i. 436; in the first line of Roman defence, 491; on the *Via Flaminia*, 495 *note*; unfaithful to Rome in the Second Punic War, ii. 42; *cenotaph* to the Emperor Tacitus, vii. 330.
- Intercessio**, defined, i. 273; rendered usurpation almost impossible, viii. 344.
- Interest**, rates of, in early Rome, i. 264; fixed at $8\frac{1}{2}$ per cent by the Twelve Tables, 336, 403; fixed at $4\frac{1}{2}$ per cent in 347 B. C., 403; legal rate at Athens, 403 *note*; viii. 13 *note*; rate obtained by Brutus, i. 405 *note*; viii. 13 *note*; reduced by Alexander Severus to 3 per cent, vii. 126; rates during the Empire in Egypt and in the Hellenic countries, viii. 13 *note*.
- Interrex**, magistrate in early Rome, appointed exceptionally, and having a brief term of office, i. 146, 195.
- Iotapianus**, proclaimed by the Syrian army, vii. 177.
- Irenaeus, Saint**, on miracles, vi. 428, 584; martyr in the reign of Severus, vii. 11 *note*; 59 *note*; author of a profession of faith, 12; on confession, 16; on miracle-working, 33; opposes Gnosticism, 37; millenarian, 38 *note*.
- Irenaeus, Saint**, Illyrian martyr, vii. 427.
- Irmisul**, the, German memorial of Arminius, iv. 431.
- Iron Gates**, the (Asia Minor), ii. 669 *note*.
- Isauria**, a district of Asia Minor, its marauding inhabitants; the country overrun by Servilius, iii. 114-15; united with the province of Cilicia, 150; desperate resistance to Rome, 707; the inhabitants persist in their predatory habits, iv. 263; vii. 267; subjugated by Probus, 336.
- Isauricus**. See **Vatia**.
- Isis**, Egyptian goddess, her temple at Rome destroyed, ii. 297; temple erected at Rome, iii. 600; the Senate hostile to her worship, 601; it is well established in Rome in the time of Augustus, iv. 187; vi. 390 *note*; her temple destroyed by Tiberius, iv. 445; her imperial worshippers; her sanctuaries in Germany, vi. 390 *note*; her colleges of priests, 392; had the tonsure; said prayers for the Emperor, 392 *note*; her mysteries, 396-7; Plutarch regards her as Divine Wisdom, 397 *note*; the Supreme Divinity, adored under many names, 403; her temple built by Caracalla, 523; Commodus one of her worshippers, 528 *note*; she is worshipped by the Blemmyes, vii. 376-7.
- Issa**, an Illyrian island given up to Rome, i. 562 and *note*.
- Istria**, peninsula near the head of the Adriatic, occupied by the Romans after the First Punic War, i. 603; finally subjugated by them, ii. 137; invaded by the Barbarians, iv. 245. (In the reign of Augustus, Istria was incorporated with Italy.)
- Italica**, a Spanish city, colony of Scipio's veterans, ii. 217 and *note*; birthplace of Trajan, v. 224; home of Hadrian's family, 349 *note*; never visited by him, 349; but greatly honored and favored by him, 349 *note*.
- Italy**, its situation accounts for its history, i. 18, 19; peninsular and continental, 19; peninsular, the true Italy, 19; its geographical extent, 20 *note*; its proper line of defence, 22 *note*; may be divided into four regions, 35-7; great fertility of, 37 and *note*; a reduced picture of the ancient world, 37; prehistoric condition of, 38; the asylum of many races. 44, 45; all, or nearly all, of the Aryan family. 114; political and religious organization, 116-32; Roman wars with various Italian nations in the fifth, fourth, and third centuries B. C., 299-319,

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JANICULUM, the, a hill on the right bank of the Tiber, the traditional dwelling of Janus, i. 133; Numa's tomb at its foot, i. 150; its fortress constructed by Ancus, 157, 162; omen seen there by Tarquin, 158; showed a red flag during the sessions of the comitia, 274; occupied by Veientes, 315; the plebeians withdraw thither in arms, 345, 394; Roman army encamped at its foot protecting the city, 450; Numa's books discovered at the foot of the hill, ii. 297-8.

Janus, ancient Latin divinity presiding over the beginnings of things, identified with Sol, i. 89, 90 *note*, 124 *note*, 126; traditionally first king of Latium, 133; god with two faces, 146, 199 and *note*, 509; iv. 176; his temple built by Numa and closed in his reign, i. 149; gradually despoiled of his attributes, 149 *note*; Diana his feminine form, 200; appealed to by the fetial, 230; invoked by a consul, 420; temple of, closed for the second time, 595; for the third time, iv. 259.

Jericho, a city of Palestine, massacre in its hippodrome, iv. 7; its export of balm of Gilead, 225.

Jerome, Saint, depicts mercenary marriages, v. 533-4; on the fall of Tertullian and Origen, vii. 39 *note*; on Irenaeus, 59 *note*; recommends the ascetic life, viii. 195, 196; reproaches the monks for eccentricities, 197; and vices, 197 *note*; violence against Julian, 200 *note*; his translation of the Bible (the Vulgate), 236 *note*; on the luxury of priests,

237 *note*; on the Barbarian invasions; on celibacy, 274.

Jerusalem, besieged and taken by Pompey, iii. 145-6; again taken by the Romans, 643; Agrippa sacrifices in its temple, iv. 247; Caligula designs to have his statue erected there, 502; insurrections in the city, v. 113; persecution of the Christians, 114; the temple respected by the Romans, 115; violent acts of the rebels, 117-26; the city besieged by Titus, 127; its capture and destruction, 131-3; visited by Hadrian; erection of pagan temples, 378, 414-15; the city re-named by Hadrian, 415; and by Commodus, vi. 450; visited by the Empress Helena, vii. 570-3; a resort of pilgrims, viii. 57 *note*; Julian's attempt to rebuild the temple, 213-14.

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John of Giscala, leader of the moderate faction of the zealots at Jerusalem, v. 126-7; escapes from the temple to the upper city, 130; captured by Titus, 131; follows the chariot of Titus in the triumph, and finally dies in prison, 132.

Josephus, Flavius, Jewish historian, intrusted with the government of Galilee, v. 121; his opinion of the Jewish war, 122 and *note*; defeated by Vespasian, surrenders, and foretells the imperial honors of the Roman general, 123; his belief in immortality, 123 *note*; eye-witness of the siege of Jerusalem, 127; on Roman discipline, vi. 240.

Jovian, the Emperor (Flavius Claudius Jovianus), lieutenant of Julian in the Persian expedition, viii. 184; proclaimed Emperor; his age, nationality, and character, 224; un-

- suit to his position, 225; his treaty with Sapor, 225-6; his measures to protect himself, 226; his movements in Asia; his death, 227; edict of toleration issued by him; his body sent to Constantinople, 228.
- Jovian**, chief of the *notarii*, put to death, viii. 226.
- Jovinus**, Roman general in Gaul under Jovian, viii. 227; victorious at Châlons, 244.
- Juba I**, king of Numidia, his insolence in the senatorial camp, iii. 488; attacked by Sittius, 490; escape and death after the battle of Thapsus, 498; his property sold at auction by Caesar, 505 *note*; extent of his kingdom, 731.
- Juba II**, educated at Rome, considered a very learned man; his credulity, iv. 332; strove to educate his people, vi. 147.
- Judacilius**, Italian general in the Social War, ii. 586; at the siege of Asculum; his death, 598; freed the slaves in Apulia, 602.
- Judaea**. See **Palestine**.
- Judices**, or **Judges**, persons appointed by a Roman magistrate to investigate the facts in dispute in matters brought before the latter's tribunal, i. 339, 508; originally senators, 508; ii. 343; by a law of Caius Gracchus selected from the equestrian order exclusively, 474; *judicia* in part restored to the Senate by Caepio, 548; again taken from them by Servilius Glaucia, 549; attempt of Drusus to reinstate the senators as *judices*, 563, 566; Sylla's Cornelian Law gives the *judicia* to the senators exclusively, iii. 42; by the Aurelian Law the *judices* are chosen from the knights, the senators, and the tribunes of the treasury, 107 and *note*; their number in 50 B. C., 398 *note*; the tribunes of the treasury excluded from the *judicia*, 513; property-qualification for the *judices* abolished by Antony, 562; the judicial system re-organized by Augustus, iv. 102-3 and *notes*.
- Judices decemviri**, judges of the plebeians, i. 288.
- Jugurtha**, grandson of Masinissa, sent away by Micipsa; complimented by Scipio; receives a share in the inheritance with his cousins, ii. 498; murders one of them, 500; makes war against the other, and puts him to death, 501; is invited to Rome to testify against Aemilius Scaurus, 503; causes the murder of his cousin, and is ordered to leave the city; defeats the Roman army in Numidia (109 B. C.), 504; is followed and defeated by Metellus (108 B. C.), 505; makes guerilla warfare against the Romans; makes a partial surrender to Metellus, 506; driven back into the desert by Metellus, makes a stand at Thala; loses the place, and again makes his escape, 511; aided by Bocchus, harasses the Roman army, 512; defeated by Marius, 513; given up by Bocchus to the Romans, 514; led in triumph in Rome, and dies in the Tullianum, 516-17.
- Julia**, the *gens*, of Alban origin, i. 133, 156; claimed Trojan ancestry, 185.
- Julia**, wife of Marius, ii. 493.
- Julia**, mother of Antony, protects her brother, Lucius Caesar, included in the proscriptions of the first triumvirate, iii. 588; escapes to Sicily, 621.
- Julia**, daughter of Julius Caesar and Cornelia, wife of Pompey, her death, iii. 375; effect of this event upon the alliance between Pompey and Caesar, 396; festivals in her honor after Caesar's African victories, 509.
- Julia**, daughter of Octavius (the Emperor Augustus) and Scribonia (born 39 B. C.), betrothed (36 B. C.) to Antyllus, son of Antony, iii. 631; her scandalous life, iv. 61; married to Marcellus (25 B. C.), 78; upon his death is married to Agrippa (21 B. C.), 83, 275; mother of sons and daughters, 243; married to Tiberius (11 B. C.), 258, 276; her misconduct a great offence to Tiberius, 277; becomes at last known to Augustus; her exile, and death at Pandataria, 278; the Emperor's severity towards her accomplices, 417.
- Julia**, daughter of Agrippa and Julia, wife of L. Aemilius Paulus, banished by Augustus; her death, iv. 281.
- Julia**, daughter of Germanicus and Agrippina, friend of Seneca, iv. 436 *note*, 553; exiled by Caligula, 498; again exiled in the reign of Claudius and assassinated, 553.
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- Julia**, daughter of Titus, seduced by Domitian, v. 181.
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- Malta** (Melita), island south of Sicily, occupied by Carthage, i. 536; its woven cotton, iv. 220.
- Mamercus, Aemilius** (Mamercinus), plebeian dictator, i. 349.
- Mamertine Prison**, excavated by Ancus Martius, i. 157; size and construction, iii. 185.
- Mamertines**, the, "Sons of Mars," Campanian mercenaries who established themselves in Sicily, i. 103; seize Messina, 110; their hostilities with Pyrrhus, 471; ask aid from Rome against Hiero, 553-4; are protected by Rome, 554-6.
- Mamertinus**, rhetorician, appointed consul by Julian, viii. 163.
- Mamilius**, tribune, institutes inquiry into the conduct of Roman senators bribed by Jugurtha, ii. 504.
- Mamurra**, chief of engineers under Caesar, iii. 528.
- Manastabal**, son of Masinissa, author of Greek poems, ii. 422.
- Mancia, Helvius**, his attack on Pompey, iii. 27-8.
- Mancinus, A. Hostilius**, consul, defeated by Perseus, ii. 161; pillages Abdera, 380.
- Mancinus, C. Hostilius**, Roman general, defeated by the Numantians, ii. 213.
- Mancipatio**, i. 269.
- Mancipes**, farmers of the taxes, ii. 386.
- Mancipium**, vi. 13-14.
- Manes**, Persian reformer, his system a combination of the doctrines of Zoroaster and Jesus, vii. 304.
- Manes**, the worship of, i. 123, 129; souls of the good, 210; homage paid to them, 210-15; festivals to appease them, vi. 416.
- Mania**, "mother of the Manes," Etruscan divinity to whom boys were sacrificed by Tarquin, i. 67 *note*.
- Manichaeans**, Persian sect, vii. 414; to which Saint Augustine at one time belonged, 414 *note*; regarded as rebels by Constantine, 508; excluded from general toleration by Valentinian, viii. 233; severest punishments decreed against them, 288.
- Manilius, C.**, tribune, his proposal to give Pompey unlimited power in the Asiatic provinces, iii. 136.
- Manilius, M.**, Roman poet, believer in pantheism, vi. 384.
- Maniple**, the, i. 514 and *note*, 519-21.
- Manlius, C.**, consul, accused by Genucius, i. 295.
- Manlius, A.**, deputy sent to collect Greek laws to be used at Rome, i. 326.
- Manlius Capitolinus, M.**, saves the Capitol, i. 366; makes himself the patron of the poor, excites public jealousy, is put to death, 381; his house on the Capitoline hill

- destroyed, and his praenomen, Marcus, never again used in the *gens*, 381-2.
- Manlius Capitolinus Imperiosus, P.**, dictator, i. 357; his son's defence of him, 387-8.
- Manlius Capitolinus, Cnaeus**, consul, causes his army to establish the tax on enfranchisements, i. 388 *note*.
- Manlius Imperiosus Torquatus, T.**, overcomes a Gaul, i. 374; defends his father; is appointed legionary tribune, 387-8; hostile to the Latins, 418; orders his son's death, 419; victory over the Latins and triumph, 420; again defeats the Latins, 421.
- Manlius Torquatus, T.**, refuses the consulship, ii. 17.
- Manlius Torquatus, L.**, consul, iii. 163; defends Catiline against a charge of extortion, 164.
- Mansiones**, stations of the public post, viii. 9 and *note*.
- Manumission of Slaves.** See **Enfranchisements**.
- Manus**, power of the husband over his wife given by *confarreatio*, v. 540, 549, 552.
- Marcellinus**, count of the largesses, aids Magentius, viii. 68.
- Marcellinus**, a tribune, correspondent of Saint Jerome, viii. 197 *note*.
- Marcellinus, Ammianus**, Roman historian: on the massacre in the Scinian basilica, vii. 43 *note*; on the Egyptian obelisk, 513 *note*; a trustworthy author, viii. 21 *note*; on the Alemanni, 96 *note*; on the siege of Amida, 118-24; on the death of Ursulus, 165 *note*; on Julian's early measures, 166; on his dealings with the bishops, 169 *note*; on Julian's route to Ctesiphon, 217 *note*; on the situation of the army, 225 *note*; on bandits, 231 *note*.
- Marcellinus, Baebius**, aedile, unjustly condemned to death, vi. 542.
- Marcellus**, name of an illustrious plebeian family, originally clients of the *gens* Claudia, i. 193; patrons of Sicily, ii. 245; an honor to the plebeian order, 260; held nine consulships in eighty-six years, 375 *note*; the main line of the family ends with the nephew of Augustus, iv. 433.
- Marcellus, M. Claudius**, in the war with the Gauls, i. 600, 601; his triumph, 601; in command against Hannibal, ii. 3, 11; his campaign in Campania, 18; conqueror at Syracuse, 23; at Numistro, 38; for the fifth time consul (208 B.C.), is killed, 39.
- Marcellus, M. Claudius**, consul, friend of Cicero, iii. 401; his hostility to Caesar, 402; his scheme to secure Caesar's recall the next year, 404-5; murdered in Athens, 539.
- Marcellus, C. Claudius**, consul, partisan of the Senate, iii. 403; proposes Caesar's recall, 409; his proposal that Caesar be required to resign, 412-14; invests Pompey with supreme command, 414-15; receives and refuses to read Caesar's letter, 415-16.
- Marcellus, M. Claudius**, son of C. Cl. Marcellus and Octavia, Vergil's young hero, iii. 624 and *note*; nephew of the Emperor Augustus; a *congariun* distributed in his name (29 B.C.), iv. 63; appears at the Trojan games on the same occasion, 69; son-in-law of Augustus (husband of Julia), 78; is allowed to canvass the consulship ten years before the proper age; aedile, 79; his jealousy of Agrippa; his death (23 B.C.), 83, 244, 274, 433 and *note*; theatre of, 347 and *note*.
- Marcellus, Granius**, governor of Bithynia, charged with extortion, absolved by the Senate, iv. 418-19; afterwards punished, 448.
- Marcellus**, centurion, Christian martyr, vii. 412.
- Marcellus**, general in Gaul, viii. 90; fails to assist Julian, and is recalled, 94.
- Marcellus, Nonius**, grammarian, vii. 217 *note*.
- Marcellus, Ulpian**, general in Britain under Commodus, vi. 445; his victories, 448.
- Marcia**, mistress of Quadratus, becomes the concubine of Commodus; obtains great influence over him; is said to have been a Christian, vi. 460 and *notes*; fears for her own life, and joins a conspiracy against the Emperor, 461; put to death by Julianus, 474.
- Marcian (Aelius Marcianus)**, Roman jurist, vi. 554 *note*.
- Marciana**, sister of Trajan, v. 307.
- Marcion**, early heresiarch, vii. 37.
- Marcus**, an Italian diviner who prophesied the Roman defeat at Cannae, i. 685.
- Marcus, L.**, a Roman knight, his gallantry in Spain, ii. 52-3.
- Marcus Philippus, Q.**, Roman commissioner, negotiates with Persus, ii. 159; consul, defeats Persus at Mount Olympus, 162-7.
- Marcus Tremulus, Q.**, defeats the Hernicans; a statue erected to him in the Forum, i. 443.
- Marcus Rex, Q.**, consul, his expedition against the Stoeni, ii. 520.

Marcomanni, "border or march men," name applied to tribes whom the Romans encountered in various parts of Germany, iv. 16; driven back from the Rhine, 256; their confederation, and hostilities with Rome and with other German tribes, 261-71, 429; their power for the time destroyed, 430, 609; they refuse aid to the Romans in the Dacian War, and their country is invaded by the legions, v. 198; they invade Roman territory in the time of Marcus Aurelius, 474-5; his treaty with them, 486; renewed by Commodus, vi. 444; they are threatened by the Goths, vii. 182-3; invade Roman territory, 239.

Marcus, bishop of Arethusa, said to have saved Julian's life, viii. 61 *note*; cruelly treated, 208.

Marcus Aurelius (Antoninus Augustus), the Emperor, his name originally M. Annius Verus, *verissimus*, adopted by Antoninus Pius, v. 424; his birth, ancestry, and boyhood, 457; name, 457 *note*; his tutors, 458 and *note*; virtuous character, 458-9; makes Lucius Verus his colleague, 459; enormous *donativum* to the armies; is threatened on all the frontiers, 460; sends Verus to the East, 461; celebrates a triumph, 463; his deference to the Senate, 463-4; humanity towards criminals and lunatics, 464-5 and *notes*; his administration of Italy, 465-6; measures for the benefit of children and slaves, 467-9; his liberality, 469; performs expiatory rites, and disquiets the Christians, 470-1; his philosophic meditations, 472; threatened by the Germans, 473-5; expedition into Germany, 475; difficulty in obtaining soldiers, 475-7; detained for some years on the banks of the Danube, 477; legends concerning the army, 478 and *note*; goes to establish order in the East, 479; the conspiracy of Cassius against him, and its defeat, 479-85; visits Antioch, Alexandria, and Athens; institutes courses of lectures; receives initiation into the Eleusinian Mysteries, 485-6; celebrates a triumph; sets out for Pannonia, 486; dies at Vienna, 487; his attitude towards his wife and son, 487-91; he should have adopted a successor, 492-3; loftiest expression of a purified Stoicism, 495-6; disapproved of suicide, 496-8; his *Meditations*, 498; compared with the Gospel, 499-501; why hostile to the Christian faith, 503-11; overestimated

by history, 511-12; financial straits of the government at the time of his accession, vi. 266; wrote in Greek, 344; hero of Stoicism, 365; added indulgence to its purity, 367-8; filled Rome with foreign religions, 389 and *note*; no certain faith in immortality, 409; his decree against the Christians, vii. 58 and *note*.

Maremma, the, i. 34-7. See also **Malaria**.

Mariamne, daughter of Antigonos, wife of Herod the Great, iii. 643; beheaded by her husband's order, iv. 6.

Marianae Fossae, canal dug by the legionaries of Marius, ii. 227 *note*, 530-1.

Marianus, Saint, foretells the downfall of Rome, vii. 217-18.

Marinus, proclaimed by the army in Moesia, vii. 177.

Marius, Caius, character of, ii. 491; noticed by Scipio; supported by the Metelli; tribune; his measures of reform; aedile, 492; accused by the nobles, but acquitted; praetor; marries Julia, 493; with Metellus in Africa, 493, 505; for a time is loyal to him, 506; but later, aspires to the consulship, 507; and seeks to undermine Metellus, 508; arrives in Rome and canvasses for the consulship, 509; is elected consul; gives scope to his hatred of the nobles; supersedes Metellus in Numidia; introduces the proletarii into the legions; makes himself the leader of the popular opposition, 510; his skilful command in Numidia; carries the war into the western part of the kingdom, 512; his successes, 512-13; is joined by Sylla, his quaestor, 513; final victory over Jugurtha, 514; remains two years longer in Numidia, 515-16; returns to Rome and receives a triumph, 516-17; a second time consul, 519, 530; recalled from Africa and sent into Gaul, 530-1; his discipline and reforms in the army, 531-2; delays fighting, 533-4; engages at Aquae Sextiae with the Teutones, 534-5; great victory and rejoicings, 536-8; proclaimed *imperator*, 538; recalled to Rome; refuses a triumph; returns into Gaul, 540; receives deputies from the Cimbri, 540-1; gains a victory over the Cimbri at Vercellae, 541-2; honors paid him at Rome, 542-3; five times consul, 544; aspires to a sixth consulship, 549; employs Saturninus to speak for him, 550; obtains the consulship, 551; his duplicity in respect to the

- laws of Saturninus, 552; his political incapacity, 553-4; duplicity towards his late accomplices, 555; loses popularity, 556; departs for Asia (99 B. C.), 559; has need of a war to recover his importance, 560; values the Italians as soldiers, 576, 581; in the Social War, 588, 591; distrusted by the Senate, and reluctant to fight his old friends the Italians, 594-5; usual contradiction between his conduct and his convictions, 595; his hostility towards Sylla, 608; desires to command the army against Mithridates (88 B. C.), 609; his attempts to regain public favor, 609-10; employs Sulpicius as a tool, 612; protects Sylla, 612-13; quarrel with Sylla, 613-15; vain attempt to collect an army, 615; escapes from Rome, 616-18; his adventures related by Plutarch, 618-25; his recall proposed by Cinna, 626; marches upon Rome, 627; obtains the assistance of the Samnites, 628; enters Rome and massacres his enemies, 629-31; takes possession of the consulship, 631; his last days and death; his character, 632; his remains exhumed and thrown into the Anio, iii. 18; prepared the way for Caesar in Africa, 731; his *fossa Mariana*, vi. 234.
- Marius, C.**, adopted son of the dictator, ii. 618; his proscriptions, iii. 5; consul, 7; his share in the campaign against Sylla, 8, 9; defeated near Sacriportus, 9-10; orders massacre of Syllanians in Rome, 10; defeated in the battle of the Colline Gate, 14-15; his death, 15.
- Marius Gratidianus, M.**, praetor, reforms the currency, ii. 634; put to death by Catiline, iii. 18.
- Marius, M. Aurelius**, one of the "Thirty Tyrants," formerly a blacksmith, vii. 264; assassinated by a comrade, 265; length of his reign, 265 and *note*.
- Maroboduus**, a German patriotic chief, forms a confederacy against the Romans, iv. 261; is induced to make terms with them, 262; fails to respond to the patriotic appeal of Arminius, 271; forms a league of the Marcomanni against Rome, iv. 429; defeat and submission, 430.
- Marriage**, its forms in early Rome, i. 265-6; legislation of the Twelve Tables, 332; authorized between patricians and plebeians, 444 B. C., 345; encouraged by laws, iv. 136-8; under the Antonines, v. 533-44; discouraged by the Church, vi. 17-18, 53-4; vii. 217, 274; made a sacrament by the Church, vi. 19.
- Mars** (*Mavors, Maspiter*), ancient divinity of Latium, i. 126; brother or husband of Bellona, 125; his spear, 134, 672; ii. 560 *note*; father of Romulus and Remus, i. 141; god of life and strength, 199 connected in legend with Anna Perenna, 199 *note*; one of the three tutelary divinities of Rome; his priests the Salii, 225; the Romans his people, 240; invoked in hymns, 256 and *note*; his temple at Capua, ii. 5; temple on a battlefield, 525; attempts to propitiate him, 560; his statue of gold, iii. 197; temple to Mars Ultor in the Augustan Forum, iv. 129, 243, 272, 299; Mars-Camulus, 166.
- Marseilles** (Massilia), its early enemies, i. 54; a commercial competitor of Carthage, 537; friendly to Rome in the Punic Wars, 661; ii. 224; its independence and prosperity, 521-2; aided by Rome against the Ligurians, 522; Rome becomes a dangerous neighbor, 522-3; teaches the Greek alphabet to some of her neighbors, iii. 274; Pompeian at heart, resists Caesar, and is besieged, 434; surrenders, 440; terms made with the city, 441; Sextus Pompeius assembles an army at Marseilles, 574; its commercial and intellectual importance, 682; great wealth and luxury under the Antonines, vi. 126.
- Marshes**, Italian, i. 29, 32, 33.
- Marsi**, a German tribe, unite with Arminius, iv. 269; their country ravaged by the legions, 412; defeated by Germanicus, 415; defeated in the reign of Claudius, 540.
- Marsians**, renowned as sorcerers, i. 98; their country, 99; their League, 442; their hostilities with Rome, 442, 444, 445; alliance with Rome, 447, 486; leading nation in the Social War, ii. 581.
- Marsus, C. Vibius**, governor of Syria, protects Armenia, iv. 545.
- Martial** (M. Valerius Martialis), epigrammatic poet, a Spaniard, iv. 603; wit, 604 *note*; patronized by Domitian, v. 184; his neglect of his friend's birthday, 521; satirizes women, 547; and legacy-hunters, 567; his return to his native land, vi. 82; concerning the *sportula*, 89 and *notes*, 90 and *note*; concerning his verses, 124; makes *tribulis* and *pauper* synonymous, 210; his modest dinners, 277; on tradesmen, 290-1; extols life in the country, 310; author of fifteen hundred epi-

- grams, 333; a mendicant, poet, 334; his epigrams read in Gaul and in Britain, 341.
- Martin, Saint**, bishop of Tours, originally a Roman soldier, founds the first monastery in Gaul, viii. 196; his zeal against paganism restrained by Valentinian, 234.
- Martinianus**, *magister officiorum* to Licinius: his defeat and death, vii. 470.
- Marusians**, a Moorish people, assisted by Sertorius to defeat their king, iii. 75.
- Masinissa**, king of Numidia: with the Carthaginians in Spain, ii. 57; makes alliance with Scipio, 58; hostilities between him and Syphax, 63; joins Scipio on the latter's landing in Africa, 63, 64; defeats Syphax, 64; fights at Zama on the Roman side, 67; is indemnified by Rome, 68; and established in Numidia, 69; incited by the Senate to harass Carthage, 112; sends aid to Rome in the war with Antiochus, 115; deprives Carthage of a third province, 147; deprives Carthage of a fourth province, and sends aid to Rome in the war with Perseus, 155, 200; sends elephants and auxiliaries, 157, 162; sends humble messages to the Senate, 187; always hostile to Carthage, 199; seizes Oroscopa, 201; death of (148 B. C.), 203.
- Massa, Baebius**, accused of extortion by the inhabitants of Baetica, and condemned, v. 187, 209, 257.
- Massilians**, a sect of pagan monks, vi. 358 *note*.
- Massiva**, grandson of Masinissa, murdered by order of Jugurtha at Rome, ii. 504.
- Mastarna**, i. 122, 239, 240.
- Maternus**, conspiracy of, vi. 456-7, 521.
- Maternus, Curiatius**, poet and rhetorician, put to death by Domitian, iv. 205.
- Maternus, Firmicus**. See **Firmicus**.
- Matho, Papius**, celebrates a triumph on the Alban Mount, i. 633.
- Matidia**, niece of Trajan and mother of Hadrian's wife, v. 307.
- Matronalia**, festival, i. 146 *note*.
- Matuta, Mater**, the goddess of the dawn, i. 124-5; becomes Leucothea, ii. 296-7.
- Mauretania**, the northwest coast of Africa, recognized as a kingdom by the Romans, ii. 495; its exports, iii. 732; reconstructed by Augustus, iv. 204; faithful ally of Rome, 453; divided into two provinces by Claudius, 548.
- Mauricus, Junius**, Pliny's anecdote of his freedom of speech before Nerva, v. 223; his attempt to abolish the games at Rome, vi. 313.
- Mavia**, Saracen queen, viii. 271 *note*.
- Maxentius** (M. Aurelius Valerius), the Emperor: dangerous and disorderly, vii. 441; son of Maximian, son-in-law of Galerius, 445; he instigates a riot in Rome, is proclaimed Emperor, and persuades his father to resume the purple, 446; master of Italy, 447, 449; his father attempts to depose him, 449; puts an end to the persecution of the Christians in Italy and Africa, 451; the worst of Roman tyrants, 454 and *note*; establishes the *fullis senatorius*, 454 *note*; hostility to Constantine; alliance with Maximian Daza, 456; defeated at the Milvian Bridge and drowned in the Tiber, 457-8; his head borne as a trophy; murder of his friends and son, 459; temple and basilica built by him, 459-60 and *note*; his head sent into Africa, 522.
- Maxima Virgo**, the eldest vestal, i. 227.
- Maximi Annales**, or annals of the pontiffs, i. 183.
- Maximian**, the Emperor (M. Aurelius Valerius Maximianus), Diocletian's colleague and adopted son, vii. 355; made Caesar; a brave soldier, but ignorant man; his pledge to abdicate, 356; made Augustus, 356 and *note*; his share of power, 357; his movements in Gaul, 357-8; his treaty with Carausius, 359; his interview with Diocletian and return to Gaul, 361-2; his conference with Diocletian at Milan, 363; receives Constantius as Caesar, 363, 365; and son-in-law, 366; his capital established at Milan, 368; his palace and baths, 368 *note*; visits Gaul and Africa, 370; remains in Africa till 298 A. D., 373; employed by Diocletian to deal with the Senate, 391; celebration of his birthday at Tingis, 412; his edict against the Christians, 426; celebrates his *Vicennalia* with Diocletian, 430; is required by Diocletian to abdicate, 433; proclaims Severus Caesar at Milan, 434; at the instigation of his son resumes the purple, 446; receives the surrender of Severus, 447; negotiates with Constantine and gives him his daughter in marriage, 447-8; expelled from Rome by his son, attends a meeting of the Emperors at Carnuntum, 449; conspires against Constantine, 449-50; attempts to murder him, and is required to commit suicide, 450; possible falsity of the story of

- his conspiracy against Constantine, 451; question as to manner of his death; is apotheosized, 451 *note*.
- Maximilian**, Montanist martyr, vii. 412.
- Maximin**, the Emperor (Caius Julius Verus Maximinus), a Thracian, of Barbaric ancestry; his early career, vii. 141, 145, 195; chosen Emperor by the soldiery, 141, 146; reluctant to appear in Rome; conspiracy against him, 147; his victory over the Germans; called "Dacicus" and "Sarmaticus," 148; extremely unpopular at Rome, and severe towards the Romans, 148-9; African revolt against him, 149; treated by him with disdain, 153; declared a public enemy, 153 *note*; advances towards Rome, 159; is defeated before Aquileia, and murdered by his own troops, 161; his age; said to have instituted a persecution against the Christians, 161 *note*; introduced Thracians into the Senate, 199; established a pontifex in each province, viii. 175.
- Maximin**, deputy prefect of Rome, his cruelty, viii. 233.
- Maximin Daza**, the Emperor (Galerius Valerius Maximinus), nephew of the Emperor Galerius, appointed Caesar, vii. 434; remains third in power, 445; proclaimed Augustus; his jealousy of Licinius, 449; continues the persecution of the Christians, 452; his agreement with Licinius, 452, 455; an enthusiastic pagan, 461-2; compels Licinius to abandon Asia Minor; invades his territory, 462; his defeat and death, 463 and *note*.
- Maximus**, son of the Emperor Maximin, Caesar and Prince of the Youth, vii. 146-7; his death, 147 *note*; was declared a public enemy, 153 *note*.
- Maximus**, philosopher, friend of Julian, viii. 83, 171; present at his death, 220; put to death by Valens, 256.
- Maximus** (Magnus Clemens), the Emperor, proclaimed by the legions in Britain, viii. 290; a man of high character and station, 290 *note*; associates with himself his son Victor; negotiates with Valentinian II. and with Theodosius, 292; his statues erected in the Eastern Empire by order of Theodosius, 293; offers protection to the Catholics of Italy, 307; drives Valentinian from Milan and subjugates Pannonia, 308; negotiates with Theodosius, 310; is attacked by Theodosius, defeated, and put to death, 310-11.
- Maximus, Marius**, general under Severus, vi. 485; question of his identity with the historian, 485 *note*; receives the government of Coele-Syria, 513.
- Maximus, Marius**, historian of the Emperors from Trajan to Elagabalus, v. 216 *note*; his lost History, vii. 217 *note*.
- Maximus of Madaura**, his letter to Saint Augustine, vi. 403, 405; conception of God, 408; correspondent of Saint Augustine, viii. 176.
- Maximus of Tyre**, a religious mind, vi. 389 *note*; on immortality, 412, 418; on genii, 418-19.
- Mayence** (Moguntiacum), city of Lower Germany, a point of defence, iv. 254, v. 100, vii. 334, 357; sacked by the Franks, viii. 87; raided by the Alemanni, 245.
- Mazaca**, early name of Cappadocian Caesarea, sacked by Tigranes, ii. 121; visited by Pompey, 480; its commerce, iv. 224.
- Meddix tuticus**, Samnite ruler, i. 101, 120.
- Media**, a country in the western part of Asia, of uncertain extent, held by Tigranes, iii. 131; a rival of Parthia, 141; given by Antony to Cleopatra's son, 650; negotiations of Antony with the Median king, 655; the Median dynasty temporarily established in Armenia, iv. 235; ravaged by the Alani, v. 343; invaded by Cassius, 462; Caracalla's invasion, vii. 91; part of the country given to Tiridates, 381.
- Medicine and Surgery**, Cato's domestic practice, i. 218-19; first doctor established at Rome 219 B.C., 629; Cato's opposition, 629-30; Caesar's encouragement of physicians, iii. 533; numerous in the time of Augustus; female practitioners, iv. 333; laws concerning them, 333 *note*; theories, 333-4; surgery more advanced than medicine; all practitioners at this time Greek, 334; city physicians (*archiatri populares*) and physicians of the palace (*archiatri palatini*), under Nero, v. 150; exemptions granted them by Marcus Aurelius, 442; vi. 107 and *note*; organized medical service in the cities; dispensaries, 109-10; honors bestowed on the profession, 110 and *notes*; medical schools, 111; number of doctors fixed by law, 112.
- Medioxumi**, gods of the middle region, i. 203.
- Mediterranean**, the, a Roman lake, ii. 93.
- Megalithic remains** in Kabylia, ii. 495 *note*.

- Meherbates**, made king of Parthia by Claudius, iv. 545; his capture, 546.
- Mela, M. Annaeus**, brother of Seneca, iv. 602-3; victim of Nero's tyranny, v. 27.
- Mela, Pomponius**, the geographer, a Spaniard, iv. 603; vi. 340.
- Meletius**, Egyptian heresiarch, vii. 414 and *note*.
- Meletius**, bishop of Antioch, deprived of his see, viii. 156; consecrates Gregory in Constantinople, 284 *note*.
- Meletius**, bishop of Lycopolis, vii. 534.
- Melissus, C. Maecenas**, organizes the Octavian Library, ii. 435 *note*.
- Melkarth-Baal**, Phoenician divinity, i. 530, 542, 660; vii. 213 *note*.
- Mellobaudes** (also called **Merobaude** and **Merobaud**), Frankish king and Roman general, procures a share in the Empire for Valentinian II., viii. 252; count of the *domestici* in the war against the Alemanni, 269; put to death by Maximus, 291 *note*.
- Memmius, Caius**, tribune, accuses the nobles, ii. 502; his speech before the comitia, 503; his success encourages the tribunes, 509; again accuses the nobles, 548; murdered by the band of Saturninus, 554.
- Memmius Gemellus, C.**, his election bargain, iii. 383.
- Memmius Regulus, P.**, prefect in Greece, is ordered to bring to Rome the Pheidian statue of Jupiter, iv. 502; indicated by Nero as a possible successor, 598.
- Memnon**, the statue of, seen by Hadrian, v. 384-5; and by Septimius Severus, by whom it was repaired, vi. 524.
- Memphis**, capital of Egypt, visited by Hadrian, v. 382; and by Septimius Severus, vi. 524; battle between Romans and Palmyrenes near the city, vii. 298.
- Menander, Arrius**, Roman jurist, member of the imperial council, vi. 545 *note*, 554 *note*; his *De re militari*, 566-7 and *note*.
- Menas**, freedman of Sextus Pompeius, advises him to break off negotiations with the triumvirs, iii. 627 and *note*; proposes treachery against Antony, 628; goes over to Octavius, whom he serves with ability, 630; called also Metrodorus, 630 *note*; deserts Octavius, and, later, again serves him, 632 *note*.
- Menenius, Lanatus T.**, the consul, allows the destruction of the Fabii, i. 293; accused of treason, starves himself to death, 294, 295 *note*.
- Menhirs**, iii. 262-9.
- Mensurius**, bishop of Carthage, vii. 423; his letter to Augustine, 428 *note*.
- Mercenaries**, the Carthaginian, i. 538-41; a body of them massacred by the Carthaginians, 556; mutiny in Sardinia, 562; their war with Carthage, 604-9.
- Mercury**, one of the Twelve Great Gods of the Capitol, father of Evander, i. 139; the god of commerce, 197, 236; called Camillus, the "Messenger of the Gods," 231; the Gallic Mercury, iii. 255; iv. 175; patron of traders, 214 *note*; in the *Apolokyntosis*, 567; called the *Logos*, v. 447; name of a function of the Almighty Power, vi. 405; called the "Great, Sacred, and August Preserver," vii. 493 and *note*; his head still on coins in the time of Constantine, 514.
- Merula, L. Cornelius**, flamen, appointed consul by the Senate *vice* Cinna removed, ii. 626; his preparations to defend Rome, 627; his suicide, 629-30.
- Mesomedes**, poet, freedman of Hadrian, his pension reduced by Antoninus Pius, v. 442.
- Mesopotamia** (including Osrhoene), conquered by Trajan, v. 297-8; formed into a province, 299; revolts, 300; Jewish outbreak, 302; abandoned by Hadrian, 309; reconquered by Lucius Verus, 462-3; reorganized and protected by Septimius Severus, vi. 512-13; invaded by the Parthians, vii. 97; abandoned to the Persians by Jovian, viii. 225.
- Messala, M. Valerius**, gallantry at Philippi, iii. 610; a favorite with Antony, 613; abandons Antony, 658 *note*; colleague with Octavius in the consulship, 659.
- Messala, M. Valerius** (Corvinus), colleague with Octavius in the consulship, iv. 56; his success at Philippi, 56-7; his great and varied talents, 57; victorious in Aquitania, 67; urban prefect, 94.
- Messala, Silius**, consul, announces the death of Julianus and accession of Septimius Severus, vi. 476.
- Messalina**, third wife of the Emperor Claudius, her character and influence, iv. 521; venality, 525; demoralizing effect of her example, 549; her crimes and profligacy, 549, 552 and *note*, 553, 554; marriage to Silius, 554-5; is urged by the latter to murder Claudius, 555; the freedmen procure her

- downfall, 555-6; last scenes of her life, 557-9; her death; disgraced by the Senate, 560; a brunette, wore a blond wig, vi. 278.
- Messene**, capital of the Greek state Messenia, dependent on the Aetolians, ii. 85; treated harshly by Philip, 92 *note*; member of the Aetolian League, 118; the country depopulated in the first century B. C., iii. 694.
- Messiah**, the, expected not only by the Jews, but by Persians, iv. 12.
- Messina**, Greek colony in Sicily, its siege by the Romans, i. 553-6; left nominally independent, 585; headquarters of Sextus Pompeius, iii. 630, 634, 635; abandoned by him, 636; besieged and taken by Lepidus, 637.
- Metapontum**, city of Magna Graecia, its Trojan traditions, i. 108; its disasters, 461; held by Hannibal in the Second Punic War, ii. 38, 45.
- Metaurus**, battle of the, ii. 46-9.
- Metella**, wife of Sylla, escapes the Marian proscriptions, ii. 631; insulted by the Athenians, 679; obtains great wealth from the proscriptions, iii. 20; friendly to Cicero, 23; mother of Faustus and Fausta, 43; her death, 46.
- Metellus, L. Caecilius**, proconsul, besieges and takes Panormus, i. 569, 570; honored at Rome, 570; high pontiff, 635.
- Metellus, Q. Caecilius** (Macedonicus), gains a second victory at Pydna, ii. 193; carries off Alexander's bronze statues from Pella, 197; sent into Spain (143 B. C.), 212; treats the Sicilians with injustice, 380; his praise of Aemilianus, 467.
- Metellus, Q. Caecilius** (Balearicus), subjugates the Balearic Islands, ii. 216.
- Metellus, L. Caecilius** (Dalmaticus), censor, ii. 489.
- Metellus, Q. Caecilius** (Numidicus), early friend of Marius, ii. 492; consul, obtains by lot the province of Africa; his successful campaign, 505 and *note*; is obliged to fight many petty engagements; besieges Zama; makes terms with Hamilcar; accepts a partial surrender from Jugurtha, but continues hostilities, 506; his haughty temper makes Marius his enemy, 507; is superseded in Numidia by Marius, 510; successes against Jugurtha; relinquishes the army to Marius; receives a triumph and the surname Numidicus at Rome, 511; accused of extortion, but pronounced innocent, 511-12; censor, attempts to expel Saturninus and Glaucia from the Senate, 550; refusing to swear obedience to the Saturninian laws, is fined and exiled, 552; his return opposed by the tribune Furius, 556; is recalled to Rome and received with great honor, 559.
- Metellus, Q. Caecilius** (Pius), consul, obtains the recall of his father, ii. 559; general in the Civil War, 627; recalled by the Senate, returns to Rome, 628; escapes into Africa, 629; asks Sylla for a list of the latter's intended victims, iii. 19; sent to pacify Cisalpine Gaul after the Civil War, 28; an unsuccessful general, 58; baffled by Sertorius, 76-7; injudicious conduct towards the Spaniards, 79; defeats Hirtuleius, 83; effects a junction with Pompey, 84; defeats Perperna; goes into winter-quarters, 85; puts a price on the head of Sertorius; assumes the title of *imperator*; pursues him among the mountains, 88; goes into winter-quarters, 89; returns to Italy, 90.
- Metellus, Q. (Nepos)**, tribune, hostile to Cicero, iii. 187; his ostentation, 189; proposes to intrust Rome to Pompey, 191; defeated, escapes to Asia, 192, 201.
- Metellus Pius Scipio, Q. Caecilius**, joins Pompey, iii. 454, 456; his quarrel with Domitius and Spinther, 457; at Pharsalia, 458; at Coreyra, 485; leader of the Pompeians, 487; alliance with Juba, 488; campaign in Africa, 495; defeated at Thapsus, 496; escapes on ship-board and kills himself, 497.
- Metellus, Q. Caecilius, Creticus** (1st), sent against the Cretans, iii. 115; Pompey's injustice to him, 119; sent to suppress an outbreak instigated by Catiline, 176; subjugates Crete, 701.
- Metellus, L. Caecilius, Creticus** (2d), tribune (49 B. C.), opposes Caesar's using the public treasure, iii. 433-4.
- Metius Pompusianus**, victim of Domitian's cruelty, v. 205.
- Metrodorus**, Greek philosopher, ii. 272.
- Metrodorus**, physician, receives a gold wreath, vi. 110.
- Mettius Fuffetius**, Alban dictator, i. 155.
- Metz** (Divodurum), Gallic town, inhabitants massacred by the army of Vitellius, v. 71.
- Mezentius**, Alban dictator, i. 120.
- Micipsa**, Numidian king, ii. 497-8; his proposed division of the kingdom, 498-500.
- Middle class** at Rome, disappears after the

- Punic Wars, ii. 345; cause of its disappearance, 347-50.
- Milan** (Mediolanum), chief city of the Insubres, ii. 136. (Under the Empire it became the most important city of northern Italy.) Aureolus besieged there, vii. 273; Gallienus murdered outside the city, 275; conference of Diocletian and Galerius, 363; residence of the Caesar Maximian, 368; edict of, 494-5; habitual residence of the Emperors of the West, viii. 81, 87, 230; Council of, 150.
- Mile**, the Roman, i. 278 *note*.
- Miletus**, Greek colony in Asia Minor having three hundred trading-posts, Verres steals a vessel from the city, ii. 639.
- Military service**, fidelity of the Romans to, i. 523; exhausting the Roman population, ii. 347; accepted from mercenary motives, 348 and *note*.
- Milo**, **T. Annius**, tribune, agent of Pompey, iii. 362; hostility to Clodius, 366; his purchase of gladiators, 372 *note*; murder of Clodius, 391; exiled to Marseilles, 397.
- Minerva**, or **Menafra**, one of the great Etruscan divinities, i. 53, 127; her temple at Sorrento, 69; the olive her sacred tree, 145 *note*; an agricultural goddess, 199; etymology of the name caused her to be identified with Pallas Athene, 199 *note*; the palladium, a shapeless statuette representing her, 227; one of the three tutelary divinities of Rome, 236; in whose honor the Great Games were celebrated, 624; worshipped at Athens by Paulus Aemilius, ii. 176; seen by Sylla in his dream, 614; her gold statue carried in Pompey's triumph, iii. 192; Cicero consecrates a statue of her in the Capitol, 219; her statue in Modena, 632; the Athenians offer her hand to Antony, 642; temple on the Aventine vowed her by Augustus, iv. 68, 298; Minerva-Belisarna, Gallic goddess, 166; *jus trium liberorum* given to the Trojan Minerva, 167; her Pheidon statue restored to Samos, 203; protectress of slaves, vi. 2; patroness of weavers, fullers, and dyers, 101; originally represented as air and water; later as personified intellect, 405; finally, as Divine Wisdom, 406-8; the Minerva Promachos of Athens; the Pallas Athene of Lindos, vii. 565.
- Minervina**, wife or concubine of Constantine the Great, vii. 366, 443 *note*.
- Mint** established in Rome, i. 630.
- Minucia**, a vestal, accused of violating her vows, i. 424-5; buried alive, 425.
- Minucius**, **L. Augurinus**, consul during the war with the Acqui, i. 312-13.
- Minucius**, **M. Rufus**, *magister equitum*, i. 676, 681; killed at Cannae, 685.
- Misenum**, **Cape**, defeat of the Etruscan fleet by the Italian Greeks, i. 316; residence of Cornelia, ii. 486; pillaged by pirates, iii. 112; scene of the meeting of Octavius, Antony, and Sextus Pompeius, 627-9; station of the fleet under Augustus, iv. 99, 453.
- Mishna**, the religious book of the Jews, v. 417 and *note*.
- Misopogon**, satire on the people of Antioch by the Emperor Julian, viii. 208-11.
- Mithra**, worshipped by the pirates of the Mediterranean, iii. 111; worship of, iv. 185 *note*; vi. 389, 390, 392 and *note*, 394 and *note*; vii. 15 *note*; "the invincible Sun," 403; rites of, resembled Christian rites, 431 *note*, 580 and *note*; identified with Sol, 483 *notes*; and with Apollo, 484 and *note*.
- Mithridates**. See **Armenia**, **kings of**.
- Mithridates**. See **Pontus**, **kings of**.
- Mnester**, a pantomimic actor in the time of Claudius, favorite of the elder Poppaea Sabina and of Messalina, iv. 553; endeavors to save his life on the downfall of the Empress, 558; but is put to death by the freedmen, 559.
- Mnestheus**, secretary of Aurelian and instigator of a conspiracy against him, vii. 320.
- Modares**, a Goth, general in the army of Theodosius, viii. 275, 277.
- Modena** (Mutina), important city of northern Italy, i. 22; drainage of its territory, 33; surrendered by the Gauls, 599; a Roman colony, 602; besieged by the Boii in the Second Punic War, 661; siege, iii. 373-9.
- Modestinus**, **Herennius**, eminent jurist, vi. 112.
- Modius**, the principal dry measure of the Romans, ii. 551; iv. 117 *note*.
- Moesia**, a country of central Europe north of the Haemus, ii. 143; iii. 685; two legions stationed there, iv. 453; divided into two provinces, 488; the legions of Moesia join Otho, v. 73-4; ravaged by the Dacians and Sarmatians; protected by Vespasian, 136; its export of grain, 157; wars of Domitian in defence of it, 195-6; visited

- by Trajan, 233; strongly protected by Rome, 236; visited by Hadrian, 324-8; its condition under the Antonines, vi. 136; invaded by the Goths, vii. 223-5; enjoys a century of repose, 282; invaded by the Goths, viii. 267-70.
- Monastic Orders**, their beginnings, vii. 217; in the fourth century, viii. 177-99 and *notes*.
- Mona** (Anglesey), an island off the coast of Britain, sanctuary of the Druids, iii. 311; iv. 538; Roman officers murdered there, 540; taken by the Romans, 611-12.
- Monaco** (Portus Herculis Monacci), seaport of Liguria, origin of the name, i. 525 *note*; trading-post founded by the Greeks of Massilia, ii. 224, 522.
- Monica, Saint**, her offering to the Church, vii. 24 *note*; mother of Saint Augustine, viii. 195.
- Monima**, Greek wife of Mithridates, her death, iii. 128.
- Mont-Auxois**, iii. 342 and *notes*.
- Montanists**, an heretical sect, vii. 51.
- Montanus**, founder of a sect, vii. 36; condemned by the bishop of Antioch, 37.
- Montanus, Julius**, his affray with Nero, and its consequences, iv. 489.
- Montanus, Votienus**, orator, exiled by Tiberius; a Spaniard, iv. 603.
- Motulus, Papinus**, a Samnite, Italian consul in the Social War, ii. 586; invades Campania, 589; defeated and mortally wounded at Aesernia, 603; his death at Nola, iii. 16.
- Mount Olympus**, between Thessaly and Macedon, battles of, ii. 164-6.
- Mucia**, mother of Sextus Pompeius, persuades her son to make terms with Octavius, iii. 627.
- Mucianus, Licinius**, governor of Syria, sends his allegiance to Galba by Titus, v. 60; unfriendly to Vespasian; afterwards reconciled with him, 84; assists Vespasian in obtaining the Empire, 84-5; joins Antonius Primus at Bedriacum, 87; urges Vitellius to negotiate, 90; receives the ornaments of the triumph, 134; military successes in Moesia; meets Vespasian at Brundisium, 136; the Maecenas and the Agrippa of the new Augustus, 137; quells a riot of the praetorians; deals wisely with Domitian, 138; allowed by Vespasian to assume the tone of a colleague, 139; his estimate of the philosophers, 151.
- Mules, Marius'**, ii. 531.
- Mummius, L.**, consul, victorious over the Greeks at Leucopetra, destroys Corinth, ii. 195; his character, 197; his contempt for art, 335 and *note*; censor, colleague with Scipio Aemilianus, 427.
- Munatius Plancus, L.**, the Senate's envoy to the mutinous legions of Gaul, narrowly escapes death, iv. 411.
- Munda**, a city of Spain, scene of Caesar's victory over the sons of Pompey, iii. 517-19.
- Munderic**, a Goth, general under Theodosius, viii. 275.
- Mundus**, early Roman, i. 134 and *note*.
- Munera et Curationes**, obligations imposed, at first by custom, afterwards by the law, on the inhabitants of a city, vi. 61, 114: these were either personal (*munera personarum*), or pecuniary (*munera patrimonii*), 67 and *note*, 81-2, 216; viii. 29 and *note*, 369; law of Diocletian on the subject, vii. 399-400 and *note*. See also **Immunity**.
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- Murcus, L. Statius**, in command of the Republican fleet, iii. 602; an officer of Sextus Pompeius, is assassinated by him, 627 *note*, 629.
- Murena, A. Terentius Varro**, conspirator against Augustus, iv. 46; addressed by Horace in Ode II., 10; his death, 46 *note*.
- Murena, L. Licinius** (1st), Sylla's lieutenant in the Second War with Mithridates, ii. 684; iii. 30; takes and pillages Comana, iii. 120; is defeated near the Halys, 121.
- Murena, L. Licinius** (2d), lieutenant of Lucullus in the third war with Mithridates before Tigranocerta, 132; consul, 173, 175; accused by Cato; saved by Cicero, 190; saves Cato in a riot, 192.
- Mursa**, Roman colony in Pannonia, headquarters of a legion, v. 332; scene of the defeat of Magnentius, viii. 71-2.
- Musa**, the physician of Augustus, iv. 79 and *note*, 334.
- Musonius, L. Rufus**, Stoic philosopher, exiled by Nero, v. 11; endeavors to arrest the advance of Vespasian's troops upon Rome, 93; favored by Vespasian, 153; mentioned with respect by Saint Justin, 447; his teaching, vi. 372-3.
- Mutines**, a Liby-Phoenician, i. 535; ii. 27; granted citizenship by Rome, 39 *note*.
- Mylae**, naval victory of (260 B. C.), i. 561, 563 (36 B. C.), iii. 634.

Myonnesus, promontory on the Italian coast, sea-fight off, ii. 120.

Mysia, a country of Asia Minor, some districts of it granted by the Romans to Eumenes, iv. 126; plundered by Fimbria, 691; invaded by Mithridates, iii. 126; its people wild mountaineers, 707; its boundaries ill-defined, 708.

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NABATHAEAN ARABS, a people of Arabia Petraea: their hostilities with Pompey, iii. 142, 144; attempted invasion by Scaurus, 146; Herod's attempts against them, iv. 8, 30; they seek alliance with Rome; their capital, Petra, a commercial centre, 30; their friendly relations with Augustus, 209; they mislead Aelius Gallus, 240 and *note*; caravan route through their country, v. 363, 369, 375; Jewish immigration into it, 370.

Nabis, tyrant of Lacedaemon, ii. 102; the enemy of the Achaeans, 107-8; murdered by the Aetolians, 112.

Naevius, early Roman poet, i. 395, 614; ii. 317-20; attacks Scipio, 393; is exiled, 399; and dies, 401.

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Namphano, first African martyr, v. 511; a slave, vii. 38 *note*.

Naples (Neapolis, the New City; also called in Roman poetry Parthenope), a colony of Cumae, i. 109 and *note*, 110, 427; becomes an ally of Rome, 428; resists Pyrrhus, 467; on the *Via Campana*, 495; faithful to Rome in the Second Punic War, 649 *note*; its prosperity, 655; its dispute with Nola, ii. 574; faithful to Rome in the Social War, 589; friendly to Marius in the Civil War, iii. 6; deprived by Sylla of Aenaria, 27; devoted to Pompey, 408; pleasure-resort of the Romans, iv. 39; harbor for the grain-ships, 530; scene of Nero's lyric performances, 616; residence of Nero, v. 27, 37, 45; introduction of the melon, vi. 272.

Narbo Martius (Narbonne), colony founded in Gaul (118 B.C.), ii. 525; veterans settled there, iii. 441.

Narbonensis or **Provincia** (the Province), its settlement begun 123 B.C., ii. 522; limits of, iii. 90 *note*. See also **Gaul**, **Transalpine**.

Narcissus, freedman and secretary of Claudius, his devotion to the Emperor, iv. 522; aids Messalina in procuring the death of Silanus, 553; reveals Messalina's treachery to the Emperor, 556; accompanies him to Rome, 557-8; encourages the resolution of Claudius, 558-9; sends an order for Messalina's death, 560; recommends the Emperor to re-marry Aelia Paetina, his second wife, 560; partisan of Britannicus, leaves Rome, 564; put to death, 566.

Narcissus, freedman of Nero, amount of his fortune, vi. 263.

Narnia, city of central Italy, strong military position: taken by the Romans and garrisoned, 300 B.C., i. 446; a colony, 492; a Roman outpost in the Second Punic War, ii. 43, 46; held by the Vitellians, v. 89, 90.

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Nasidius, Q. (or L.), partisan of Antony, defeated by Agrippa, iii. 661.

Naso, Sextius, one of Caesar's assassins, iii. 541.

Natalis, Antonius, conspirator against Nero, v. 20.

Naumachia, representation of a sea-fight: given by Augustus, iv. 300; by Claudius, 533; by Domitian, v. 178.

Navius, Etruscan augur, story of, i. 160, 237.

Navy, the Roman, ten galleys destroyed in the harbor of Tarentum, i. 462-3; a hundred and twenty vessels fitted out in the First Punic War, 560; details of their construction, 561; great naval victory of Duilius, 562; benediction of the ships, iii. 632; condition in the time of Augustus, iv. 99.

Nectarius, a praetor, made bishop of Constantinople, viii. 198 *note*; chosen bishop before he had been baptized, 287.

Nemae, funeral wailings, i. 614 *note*.

Nemesianus, M. Aurelius Olympus, poet, vii. 217 *note*.

Nemesis, divinity who seeks to restore equilibrium in the fortunes of men; Caesar's attempt to propitiate, iii. 508 and *note*; vi. 336 *note*.

Nepotianus, Flavius Popilius, his usurpation and defeat, viii. 71.

Neptune, chief marine divinity of the Romans, unknown to early Rome, i. 236; his temple in the Campus Martius, ii. 225.

Neratius, Priscus, Roman jurist greatly trusted by Trajan, v. 315, 392; member of the Imperial council, 399.

- Nero, C. Claudius**, consul, ii. 43; his victory over Hasdrubal, 46-8.
- Nero, Tiberius Claudius**, consul, ii. 68.
- Nero, Tiberius Claudius**, father of the Emperor Tiberius, takes shelter in Sicily, iii. 622; relinquishes Livia to Augustus, 629; iv. 61.
- Nero**, eldest son of Germanicus and Agrippina, favors shown him by Tiberius; marries Julia, the Emperor's granddaughter, iv. 441; presented by Tiberius to the Senate, 457-8; his age at the death of Drusus, 458 *note*; beloved by the people as the son of Germanicus, 470; had been eight years married in 26 A. D., 470 *note*; favorite of his mother; his indiscretion; hated by Sejanus; betrayed by his wife and brother, 471; exiled by the Senate; his death, 473.
- Nero**, the Emperor (L. Domitius Ahenobarbus), son of Cnaeus Domitius Ahenobarbus and Agrippina, eleven years of age at the time of his mother's marriage with Claudius, iv. 560 and *note*; receives the name Nero and is adopted by Claudius, 562; honors granted him, 563; presented to the praetorians on the death of Claudius and proclaimed Emperor, 565; is confirmed by the Senate, 566; his age, 571; hereditary characteristics, 571-2; personal traits, 572; is taught various accomplishments, 575 and *note*; his *quinquennium*; promises a good reign, 577; early, frivolity but kind-heartedness, 578; influenced by his mother, 579; desires to throw off her control, 580; his murder of Britannicus, 581-3; sends Agrippina out of the palace, 583; receives information of a pretended conspiracy; his rage and terror; is propitiated, and yields to Agrippina, 584; good measures of his reign, 585-9; personal misconduct, 589; love for Poppaea, 590; again turns against his mother, 591; compasses her death, 592-4; remorse after the murder, 594; is congratulated by the Senate; under the influence of Poppaea, devotes himself to amusements, 595; drives a chariot in the circus, 595-6; sings on the stage; establishes the Neronian games, 596; his age, 597; his severity and alarm, 598; applies the law of treason, 599; military results of his reign, 605-14; increasing cruelty; divorces Octavia, 614; is obliged to recall her, 615; compasses her death, 615-16; birth of his daughter, and the infant's death, 616; proposes to go into Greece to sing, 617; sings in Rome, 617-18; infamous orgies, 618; his conduct on occasion of the burning of Rome, v. 2, 3; turns public indignation against the Christians, 3, 7; his cruelties to them, 8, 9; banishes philosophers, 11; rebuilds Rome with great splendor, 12; his Golden House, 13; and statue, 13 *note*; his extravagances, 14; measures for replenishing the treasury, 15, 16; progress of revolutionary ideas in his reign, 18; conspiracy against him, 18, 20; his punishment of the conspirators, 20-5; his edict on the subject, 26; causes the death of Poppaea, 26; of many eminent Romans, 26-31; and of distinguished generals of the army, 34; alienates the soldiers and the provincials, 35-6; receives a visit from Tiridates, 36 and *note*, 37; closes the temple of Janus, 37; his dreams of military glory, 37-8; his visit to Greece, 38-41; returns to Rome, 41-2; general indignation against him, 42; especially in the provinces, 42-4; Gallic revolt against him, 44-7; the last of the Julian family, 47; movement against him from all quarters, 48-9; last scenes of his life, 49-51; death and funeral rites, 51-2; singular popularity after death, 53 and *notes*; instances of his extravagance, 273, 279 *note*; his liberality to Greece, vi. 141.
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- Nerva, M. Cocceius**, helps to reconcile Octavius and Antony, iii. 624.
- Nerva, M. Cocceius**, superintendent of Agrippa's works, iv. 39, friend of Augustus, 56; accompanies Tiberius to Capri, 469, 482 *note*; his suicide; honors paid him by Nero, v. 25.
- Nerva**, the Emperor (M. Cocceius), consul with Domitian, v. 186 *note*; exiled from Rome as a conspirator against Domitian, 206; proclaimed Emperor, 218; had been twice consul, 218 *note*; mild and estimable character; pacifies the praetorians with a *donativum*, 219; swears that no senator shall be put to death during his reign; punishes slaves who had betrayed their masters; liberality to the father of Atticus Herodes, 220; his early measures, 221 and *notes*; instances of weakness, 222-3; his adoption of Trajan, 223-4; his death, 225; his scheme for aiding the poor adopted and extended by Trajan, 265; exhorts the rich to liberality, vi. 82; encourages burial associations, 98; poverty of the government at the time of his accession, 266.

- Nervii**, a nation of Belgica, their territory invaded by Caesar, iii. 296; battle of the Sambre, 297-8; attack Cicero's camp, 320-23.
- Nesactium**, an Istrian city, siege of, ii. 137.
- Nevitta**, chief of Gallic troops in Julian's Persian War, viii. 224.
- Nicaea**, chief city of Bithynia, iii. 713; authorized to build a temple to Rome and Caesar, iv. 65, 170 *note*; its theatre and gymnasium, v. 277; its legal rights, 279; victory of Niger near the city, vi. 486; council held in its basilica, vii. 539.
- Nicagoras**, a Greek philosopher, vii. 496.
- Nice** (Nicaea), Ligurian city, colony of Marselles, ii. 224.
- Nicomachus Falconius**, speech in the Senate on the appointment of Tacitus, vii. 327.
- Nicomedeia**, the capital of Bithynia, its temple to Rome and Augustus, iv. 170 *note*; its aqueduct, v. 277; temple of Cybele, 279; seized by the Goths, vii. 242; residence of Diocletian, 368, 416; his first edict of persecution issued and enforced there, 416-18; the imperial palace set on fire, 418; scene of his abdication, 434.
- Nicomedes II.** See **Bithynia, kings of.**
- Nicopolis**, "the city of Victory," founded by Octavius in commemoration of the battle of Actium, iii. 665.
- Niger, C. Pescennius**, general under Commodus, vi. 445; defends Dacia, 448; in Syria at the time of the accession of Julianus, 471; proclaimed by his troops, 472; acknowledged by Roman Asia, 483; a formidable adversary to Septimius Severus; popular and upright, 484 and *notes*; ability of his early movements, 495; vainly attempts to negotiate with Septimius Severus, 495-6 and *notes*; defeats and death, 486; his partisans punished, 487-8; his wife and children exiled from Rome; his statues left standing, 490; his Asiatic allies punished, 491; his entire family put to death, 503; at the instance of Plautianus, 537.
- Night-watch** in the camp, i. 519-20.
- Nigidius Figulus, P.**, scientific writer in Caesar's time, iv. 332.
- Nigrinus**, philosopher praised by Lucian, vi. 371.
- Nigrinus, C. Avidius**, conspires against Hadrian, v. 313; put to death by the Senate, 314; his son-in-law later adopted by Hadrian, 314, 418.
- Nîmes** (Nemausus), a city of Narbonensis, capital of the Volcae Arecomici, iii. 234; its trade; its aqueduct and basilica, iv. 220; v. 345; its wealth, public buildings, and numerous population, vi. 126 and *note*; Caius Caesar its patron, 126 *note*.
- Nineveh**, capital of ancient Assyria, colony established by Trajan and strengthened by Septimius Severus, vi. 512-13; called Colonia Augusta, 513 *note*; eastern extremity of the Roman territory, vii. 381; possessed a degree of independence, 381 *note*.
- Nisibis**, city of Mesopotamia, captured by Trajan, v. 297; taken by Cassius, 463; held by the Jews, vi. 492; made a Roman colony with the name Septimia, 512; taken by Sapor, vii. 169; held by Diocletian, 380.
- Nobles**, Roman, embrace the popular cause, ii. 445; their policy of conservatism, 489.
- Nola**, a city of Campania, Etrurian colony, i. 68; faithful to the Romans in the Second Punic War, ii. 9, 11, 18; dispute with Naples, 574; faithful to Rome at the outbreak of the Social War, 583; taken by the Italians, 589; besieged by Sylla, 604; its long resistance, 609; one of the last strongholds of the Samnites, iii. 15, 16.
- Nomen Latinum**, i. 481 *note*.
- Nonius, A.**, assassinated by Saturninus, ii. 551.
- Nonna**, devout mother of Gregory Nazianzen, viii. 194.
- Norba**, ancient Latin city, its walls, i. 53 *note*; faithful to the Romans in the Second Punic War, ii. 41; military position of the Romans in the Social War, iii. 8.
- Norbana, Junia**, law constituting a class of freedmen with incomplete rights, the Junian Latins, iv. 112 and *note*; vi. 9 and *note*.
- Norbanus, C.**, makes an end to the Social War, ii. 604; consul, opposed to Sylla, iii. 4, 6 and *note*; defeated by him, 6; his death, 29, 30.
- Norbanus, Flaccus C.**, under Octavius before the battle of Philippi, iii. 608.
- Norcia**, ancient city of central Italy, its necropolis, i. 35 *note*.
- Noricum**, ancient name of the larger part of the Austrian Empire, subjugated by Drusus and Tiberius, iv. 246-7; the native race mostly exterminated, and the country filled with colonists, vi. 134.
- Nortia**, Etruscan divinity, Fate, or Fortune, i. 128.

- Notitia dignitatum**, a sort of imperial directory, viii. 2 and *note*.
- Novatian**, rival of Pope Cornelius, vii. 43; his followers, 43 *note*; martyred under Valerian, 252.
- Novatians**, the, a rigid sect, vii. 43 *note*.
- Novatus**, African priest accused of various crimes, vii. 38 *note*.
- Noviodunum** (Nevers), Gallic town, iii. 338.
- Noviodunum** (Saucerre), Gallic town, iii. 332.
- Noviodunum** (Soissons), Gallic town, iii. 292.
- Novius, Q.**, organizes the *veliles*, ii. 32.
- Novum Castrum**, a Roman colony in Picenum, i. 457, 492.
- Nuceria**, city of Campania, i. 57; captured by Rome, 443; faithful to the Romans in the Social War, ii. 559.
- Numa Pompilius**, Sabine king of Rome, i. 147; augural rites confirming his election, 147; measures of his reign, 146-9; books of, 150 and *note*, 156; believed to have been the author of the religious customs of Rome, 199; books attributed to him discovered and burned (181 B. C.), ii. 297-9.
- Numantia**, successfully defended against the Romans, ii. 211; treaty made with, 213; siege of, 214-15.
- Numenius**, a philosopher, vi. 403 and *note*.
- Numerianus**, a grammarian, raises troops and money to aid Septimius Severus, vi. 498-9, 521.
- Numerianus** (M. Aurelius), the Emperor, gentle and intelligent, appointed Caesar, vii. 341; accompanies his father to the East, 342; proclaimed by the army, 344; his illness, 344; and death, 345.
- Numidia**, furnishes mercenary troops to Carthage, i. 539; revolts from Carthage, 567; returns to fidelity, 607; posts of Carthage on the Numidian coast, 651; Numidian mercenaries in the Carthaginian army in the wars with Rome, 662, 668, 684; ii. 9, 33, 46; in alliance with the Romans, turned against Carthage, 61, 63-9; territory increased by the Romans, made a kingdom for Masinissa, 69; territory increased by Masinissa, 200; perhaps the early home of the Basque race, 493-4; extent and importance of the kingdom, 495-7; carefully watched by Rome, 497-8; division of the kingdom, 498-500; Roman campaigns, 502-16; the country dismembered, 516; again dismembered by Caesar, and Eastern Numidia made a province, iii. 506; its condition at the time of the establishment of the Empire, 732; a senatorial province, iv. 147 *note*; seat of the Donatist schism, viii. 528.
- Numitor**, i. 140.
- Nuraghe**, Phoenician monument, i. 530.
- Nymphaeum**, in Spain, iii. 82 *note*.
- Nymphidius Sabinus**, receives honors from Nero, v. 25; his attempts to obtain the throne, 49, 57; murdered after the accession of Galba, 57-8; sum promised by him to the praetorians, 59 *note*.
- OBNUNTIATIO**, announcement of bad omens which must put a stop to public proceedings, ii. 344.
- Obodas**, king of the Nabathæan Arabs, iv. 209.
- Obsidional crown**, i. 416.
- Ocriculum**, city of central Italy, sides with the Italians in the Social War, ii. 595-6; its prosperity, 595 *note*.
- Octavia**, a plebeian *gens* of Volscian origin, i. 133; leaders of the plebs, 276.
- Octavia**, sister of Octavius, becomes the wife of Antony, iii. 625; hopes of peace between Antony and Octavius arising from this marriage, 626; her attempts to promote friendly relations between her husband and brother, 630, 631; at Athens with Antony, 641; left alone at Tarentum, 643; at Rome, asks permission of Octavius to rejoin Antony in Syria, 645; at Athens is ordered by Antony to come no farther; returns to Rome, where she still endeavors to promote her husband's interests, 649; is divorced by Antony, 657; always honored at Rome, iv. 61-2, 243; her death, 274; universally respected, vi. 313.
- Octavia**, daughter of Claudius and Messalina, iv. 554; is sent by Messalina to plead her cause with the Emperor, 557; dreaded by the freedmen, 561; her marriage with Silanus broken off; affianced to Nero, 562; kept within reach by Agrippina after the murder of Claudius, 565; wife of Nero, obstacle to his marriage with Poppaea, 590; gentle and innocent character, 595; divorced by Nero, 614; recalled, 615; plot laid against her, 615-16; her murder, 616.
- Octavius Caesar**. See **Augustus**.
- Octavius, Cnaeus** (1st), praetor in command of the Roman fleet, receives the surrender of Perseus, ii. 175.

- Octavius, Cnaeus** (2d), partisan of Sylla, consul, ii. 616; unable to defend Rome against Marius, 625, 629; killed in his curule chair, 629.
- Octavius, M.** (1st), colleague of Tiberius Gracchus, ii. 453; hostile to the Sempronian Law, endeavors to prevent voting, 453-4; attempts of Tiberius to persuade him; is deposed, 455; diminishes the gratuitous distributions of corn, 489; respects the Egyptian religion and customs, 719; his Egyptian governors of low rank, 720.
- Octavius, M.** (2d), consul B. C. 54, defeats Dolabella off the Illyrian coast, iii. 437.
- Odenathus, Septimius**, influential Palmyrene, stimulates his people to a war with Sapor, vii. 253; defeats Sapor, 254; proclaimed king by the Arabs, and later Augustus by Gallienus, 255 and *note*, 294; importance of his position, 268; circumstances of his death, 294 and *note*, 295.
- Odessus**, a town on the west coast of the Euxine, capital of the Thracian Pentapolis, ii. 251 *note*; v. 327; vi. 136.
- Odryseae**, a Thracian people friendly to Perseus, ii. 150; faithful to Augustus and rewarded by him, iv. 252.
- Oea**, city of the African Tripolis, at war with Leptis, v. 136; its deliberative assembly, vi. 158.
- Oenotria**, earliest Greek name for Southern Italy, "the country of the vine," i. 46; its people, 49 and *note*; invaded by the Lucanians, 104.
- Ofella, Q. Lucretius**, leader in Sylla's army, iii. 10, 11, 13; murdered by Sylla's order, 40-1.
- Officiales**, persons employed in the public offices of the later Empire, viii. 9 and *note*.
- Ofilius, Aulus**, codifies the praetorian edicts, iii. 532.
- Ogulnian Law**, i. 392, 393.
- Olbia**, a Greek commercial town in Scythia, v. 327; Dion Chrysostom addresses its people on philosophy, vi. 163; it disappears from history, vii. 187.
- Olybrius**, prefect of Rome, regulates Roman schools, viii. 241-2.
- Olympia**, a plain in Greece with the temple and sacred grove of Zeus Olympios; visited by Paulus Aemilius, ii. 177; visited by Nero, v. 39; temple of Trajan and statue of Hadrian erected there, vi. 357; scene of a philosopher's suicide, 375; retains its Pheidonian statue till the time of Theodosius, vii. 565.
- Olympus, Mount**, the battle of, ii. 164-7.
- Optimius, L.**, consul, hostile to Caius Gracchus, ii. 481; convenes the Senate, 482; receives dictatorial powers; prepares an armed attack on Gracchus, 483; pays its weight in gold for the head of Gracchus, 485; represents himself as the pacificator of Rome, 488; prosecuted, but acquitted, 489; afterwards exiled, and dies in disgrace, 514.
- Optimius, Q.**, tribune, deposed by the praetor, iii. 101.
- Optian Law**, forbids women to wear more than half an ounce of gold, ii. 16; is repealed, 394.
- Oppianus of Cilicia**, his *Halientica*, vi. 583 *note*; almost a poet, vii. 215.
- Oppianus of Syria**, patronized by Severus, vi. 551; his *Cynegetica* dedicated to Caracalla, 551 *note*; the Vergil of his time, 583 *note*.
- Oppius, C.**, friend of Caesar, iii. 528.
- Oppius, Q.**, captive of Mithridates, ii. 674.
- Optatianus**, Roman poet with whom Constantine corresponded, vii. 496.
- Optatus**, brother-in-law of Constantine, his murder, viii. 61.
- Optatus, Saint**, on church and state, vii. 517.
- Oracles**, revelations made by a divinity through the medium of some person or thing: that of Faunus, i. 123 *note*, 637 *note*; of Mars, 217; despised by Cicero, ii. 321 *note*. See also **Apollo** and **Praenestine Lots**.
- Orations**, funeral, i. 613.
- Oratory**, cultivated under the Republic, ii. 328-9.
- Orbiana, Sallustia Barbia**, wife of Alexander Severus, vii. 126 *note*.
- Orchian Law**, ii. 341, 413.
- Orchomenus**, Greek city, scene of a Roman victory, iii. 688-9.
- Orcini**, slaves set free by will, term of reproach for certain senators, iv. 72 and *note*.
- Orestilla**, wife of Catiline, iii. 178.
- Orfitus, Servius Scipio Salvidienus**, urban prefect under Hadrian and Antoninus Pius, v. 439 and *note*.
- Orgetorix**, chief of the Suevi, iii. 280.
- Oribasius**, Julian's physician in Gaul, makes an abridgment of Galen's writings, viii. 105 and *note*.
- Origen**, on the Gospels, vii. 10 *note*, 11 *note*; on the canons of Scripture, 11 *note*; on

- baptism, 15 *note*; on confession, 16 *note*; took refuge with Firmilianus, 30 *note*; on miracle-working, 34; on vices of church-members, 38 *note*; hostility of the Roman Senate against him, 39 *note*; excommunicated by Demetrius, 43; admirer of the old philosophy, 51; on religious liberty, 56; visits the martyrs in prison, 59; on the number of Christians, 62 *note*; on the martyrs, 66 and *note*; his letters to the Emperor Philip and Otacilia, 173 *note*; precursor of the Greek Fathers of the fourth century, 216; on the number of martyrs before Decius, 228; threatened with martyrdom, 229; his age at the time of the persecution, 229 *note*.
- Ornamenta consularia**, conferred no rights, iv. 85 *note*.
- Orodes**. See **Parthia, kings of**.
- Oscans, Opici, or Osci**, nation of central Italy, an agricultural people, i. 45, 88; the true Italian race, 88; kindred with the Sabelians, 88; their language, 88 *note*; blended with other nations, 90; in Campania, 95.
- Ostia**, seaport of Rome, founded by Ancus Martius, i. 157; salt-works at, 377; arrival of Carthaginian fleet, 470; pillaged by pirates, iii. 112; connected with Rome by the *Via Suburbana*, iv. 37; distance from various points, 216 *note*; a poor roadstead, 220; new basin excavated by Claudius, 529-31 and *note*; improvements made by Trajan, v. 274; port of the Egyptian corn-ships, vi. 447; its theatre rebuilt by Septimius Severus, 569; regulations of the port, viii. 35 *note*.
- Osuna, Bronzes of**, vi. 39, 48, 52, 60.
- Otacilia Severa, Marcia**, wife of the Emperor Philip, vii. 170 *note*; said to be a Christian, 173; in correspondence with Origen, 173 *note*.
- Otacilius Crassus, T.**, rejected candidate for the consulship, ii. 17.
- Otho** (M. Salvinus), the Emperor, gay companion of Nero, iv. 580; husband of Poppea Sabina; sent as governor into Lusitania, 590; vindictive towards Nero, v. 43; supports Galba, 48; candidate for adoption by Galba, 60; is preferred by the praetorians, 62; and declared Emperor by them, 63-4; his birth and ancestry, 66; his early measures, 66-7; defends himself against Vitellius, 72-4; defeated, he commits suicide, 74-5; his tomb, 75 *note*; a worshipper of Isis, vi. 390 *note*.
- Outlaws**, early Italian, i. 121, 122; sometimes patriots, iii. 28.
- Ovates**, Gallic diviners, iii. 261-2.
- Ovid** (P. Ovidius Naso), required by Augustus to write the *Fasti* in honor of the old Roman religion, iv. 128, 328; his exile, 281 and *note*, 328; death, 282; his *Ars amatoria*, 328 and *note*; character of his poetry, 328; on the celebration of birthdays, v. 521; quoted, 524; on the *Liberalia*, 525-6; an unbeliever, vi. 382-3.
- Ovinian Law or Plebiscitum**, i. 392.
- Oxyntas**, son of Jugurtha, ii. 593.
- PACCIUS, OVIUS**, forms the linen legion, i. 451, 452.
- Pachomius**, early hermit, viii. 153, 196.
- Pacorus**, son of the Parthian king, defeated by Cassius, iii. 85; killed in battle with the Romans, 642.
- Pactumeius Clemens, Q. Aurelius**, first African appointed Roman consul, v. 141.
- Pacuvius, Calavius**, Capuan favorable to Carthage, ii. 7, 8.
- Pacuvius, M.**, Roman tragic poet, ii. 320, 326-7 and *notes*.
- Pacuvius, Sextus**, tribune (27 B.C.), his flattery of Augustus, iv. 78.
- Padua** (Patavium), city of northern Italy, basaltic mountains of the district, i. 25, 56; claims to be of Trojan origin, 108; Livy a Paduan, 133; often plundered by the Gauls, 445; its important manufactures in the time of Augustus, iv. 220; held by the partisans of Vespasian, v. 86.
- Paestum** (Posidonia), Greek city of southern Italy, i. 25; its luxuriant vegetation, 35 *note*; its temples, 35 *note*, 111 and *note*; iv. 351; furnishes ships to Rome, i. 486 *note*; a colony, 494; on the *Via Augusta*, 495; loyal to Rome in the Punic Wars, 649 *note*; ii. 41; invaded by malaria, iv. 39.
- Paetus, Caecina**. See **Caecina**.
- Paetus, C. Caesennius**, sent to assist Corbulo in Syria, iv. 606; is defeated by Vologeses, 607.
- Paetus, P. Autronius**, consul-elect, condemned for bribery; engaged in a conspiracy with Catiline, iii. 165.
- Paetus, S. Aelius**, his *Tripartites*, ii. 329 *note*, 330, 331.
- Paetus, Valerianus**, put to death by Elagabalus, vii. 108 *note*.

Paganalia, festivals of the rural tribes, i. 241.

Pagi, divisions of the rural tribes, i. 496.

Palaemon, a Greek sea-god identified with the Roman Portunus or Portunus, ii. 297.

Palaeopolis, old city on the site of Naples, its siege marked by the institution of the proconsular office, i. 428.

Palatine, one of the Seven Hills, earliest tradition in respect to it, i. 139; spot where Romulus took the auspices, 142; his sacred city, 143, 196; height and circumference of the hill, 143-4; one of the four quarters established by Servius, 163; site of an earlier city, 187-8; the *Roma quadrata*, 257, 258; iv. 349 *note*; bronze wolf placed there, i. 625; residence of Augustus on this hill, iv. 90, 121 and *note*, 285, 291, 349; temple of the Palatine Apollo, 126, 129-30 and *note*, 298; temples of Juventas and the Mater Magna built by Augustus, 298; temples of Jupiter and house of Livia, 349 *note*; the Flavian palace, v. 180 and *note*; the imperial residence, vi. 196; the Septizonium of Septimius Severus, 568.

Pales, Roman divinity of flocks and shepherds, i. 203, 232; her festival, the Palilia, 204; etymology of the name, 204 *note*; identified with Ceres, 233.

Palestine, country of Syria lying between the Mediterranean and the desert: in the time of Pompey, iii. 143-6; in the time of Caesar, 478-9; at the accession of Augustus, iv. 6-12, 203-9; its exports, 225; visited by Caius Caesar, 260; interference of Caligula, 511; of Claudius, 548 and *note*; of Vespasian, v. 108-33; Hadrian's visit, 370-6; insurrections against the Roman rule, vi. 412-17; contests between Jews and Samaritans, 487, 520-1; visit of Septimius Severus, 520-3; vi. 68-9; persecution of the Christians, 420.

Palfurius, a brigand in the reign of Probus, vii. 336.

Palfurius Sura, degraded from the consulship by Vespasian, v. 151-2; a jurisconsult who sought to increase the imperial prerogatives, 186.

Palilia, festival, i. 204, vii. 359; the battle of Munda commemorated on that occasion, iii. 519.

Palina, tutelary divinity of the Frentani, i. 124.

Palladium, an ancient image of Pallas Athene, revered as a pledge of the safety of the town or place where it was kept. The

Trojan Palladium said to have been brought to Rome, i. 108, 140; kept in the temple of Vesta, 227; saved by Metellus when the temple was burned, 570; a copy of it placed under Constantine's column in the forum of Constantinople, vii. 513.

Pallantium, Greek city, according to tradition the home of Evander, whence was named the Palatine Hill; for which reason the city received privileges from Antoninus Pius, ii. 244 *note*.

Pallas. See **Minerva**.

Pallas, freedman of the Emperor Claudius, iv. 522; sells the Roman citizenship, 525; law proposed by him; made praetor; his great wealth, 528 *note*, 616; secretly hostile to Messalina, 555; recommends Agrippina to the Emperor, 560; persuades him to adopt Nero, 562; favorite and steward of Agrippina, 579, 580; disgraced by the ministers of Nero, 580; put to death, 616; his arrogance, vi. 225; amount of his fortune, 263.

Pallor and **Terror**, divinities invoked by Tullus, i. 155, 156.

Palma, A. Cornelius, Trajan's lieutenant in the East, his victories, v. 255-6; long an enemy to Hadrian; disgraced by Trajan, 312; conspires against Hadrian, 313; put to death by the Senate, 314; his care for the water-supply in Arabia, vi. 520.

Palmyra (Tadmor), a city in the Syrian desert, contributed archers to Vespasian's army, v. 123, 373 *note*; Jews resident there, 370; recognizes the authority of Rome, 373; Hadrian's visit, 373-4; receives the *jus Italicum*; becomes a Roman colony with the name Hadrianopolis, 374 and *note*; its great buildings belong to the Antonine period, 428; great commercial centre, vi. 173, 183; vii. 253; its Roman institutions and garrison, vi. 519; vii. 253; opening of the war with Aurelian, 294; the city besieged and taken, 305-6; a fatal blow to its prosperity, 308-9; its site marked by a spring, 309 *note*.

Paludamentum militare, the war-cloak of the Roman general, ii. 55-6; iv. 149; vi. 479.

Pamphylia, a country on the south coast of Asia Minor, its frontier visited by Manlius with an army, ii. 123, 125; obtains liberty and the title of ally of Rome, 127; made part of the Roman province Cilicia, iii. 150; some districts receive their liberty from Augustus, iv. 208; invaded by the Goths, vii. 208.

- Pan**, Greek god of flocks and shepherds, takes the place of Faunus at Rome in the second century B. C., ii. 297; the source of the Jordan consecrated to him, iv. 10.
- Panaetius**, his disbelief in a future life, ii. 326.
- Pandataria**, small island off the Latin coast, place of exile of Julia, iv. 278; of the elder Agrippina, 475; of the Empress Octavia, 616; of Domitilla, wife of Clemens, v. 212.
- Pandects**, material for the, i. 387. See also *Digest*.
- Panhellenium**, a temple of Jupiter and Hadrian in Athens, a political sanctuary of Greece and meeting-place of Greek deputies, ii. 252 *note*; v. 357 and *note*, 358.
- Pannonia**, country of central Europe, south and west of the Danube, peopled by various tribes, many of them of Celtic race: ravaged by the Cimbri, ii. 526; its restless population, iii. 291; invaded by Octavius, and a military post established, 688; iv. 19; devastated by Tiberius (12 B. C.), 252; great insurrection in the year 6 B. C., 262; again devastated by Tiberius, and reduced to a province, 264; revolt of the Pannonian legions in the reign of Tiberius, 410; Roman defence of the country, 453; policy of Claudius, 544; peaceful condition in Nero's reign, 608; visited by Trajan, v. 233; Hadrian's command there, 307; a dangerous frontier, 330; Lower Pannonia, 332; Barbaric invasion in the time of Marcus Aurelius, 474, 486; the native race almost exterminated in the second century A. D., vi. 134; numerous military posts, 134-5; Septimius Severus proclaimed by the Pannonian legions, 472; he visits the province, 531; furnished soldiers to the Roman army, vii. 141; insurrection of the legions, 237; its governor proclaimed Emperor, 256, 260, 266-7; Barbaric invasion, 284; visited by Aurelian, 295; visited by Diocletian, 361; by Valentinian I., viii. 251.
- Panormus** (Palermo), Phoenician colony in Sicily, taken by the Romans in the First Punic War, i. 568; Hasdrubal's defeat in attempting to retake it, 569; for six years an important point in the war, 575; left free by the Romans, 585.
- Pansa, C. Vibius**, destined by Caesar to be consul, in 43 B. C., iii. 534; consul, makes an attempt to preserve peace between Octavius and Antony, 574; his origin and early honors, 574 *note*; joins Hirtius and Octavius in Cisalpine Gaul, 575; mortally wounded near Bologna, 577; his death, 578; last attempt to promote reconciliation between Octavius and Antony, 580.
- Pantaenus**, Christian teacher, admirer of the old philosophy, vii. 51.
- Pantaleon**, Aetolian chief, saves Eumenes, ii. 153-4.
- Pantheon**, the, built by Agrippa, iv. 131-2; 347-9 and *notes*, 350.
- Panticapaeum**, a Greek city on the Cimmerian Bosphorus, capital of the kingdom, great commercial centre, iv. 224.
- Paphlagonia**, a country in the north of Asia Minor, joins the Galatians against Rome, and is defeated, ii. 124; seized by the king of Bithynia; relinquished, 666; part of it given to Attalus, iii. 149, 151.
- Papian Law de peregrinis**, expels all foreigners from Rome, iii. 166.
- Papian-Poppaeian Law de maritandis ordinibus**, instituted by Augustus, iv. 136-40; in part abolished by Constantine, vii. 503.
- Papias**, bishop of Hierapolis, prefers tradition to Scripture, vii. 10 and *note*.
- Papienus, Maximus, L. Clodius**, the Emperor, a Roman general proclaimed by the Senate, vii. 155; in command at Ravenna, 159; receives the allegiance of the soldiers at Aquileia, 162; apprehends their hostility; on bad terms with his colleague, 163; of low origin, 163, 195; murdered by the praetorians, 164.
- Papinian** (Aemilius Papinianus), Roman jurist, member of the Emperor's council, v. 395; of Syrian birth, vi. 344; fellow-student with Septimius Severus, 478; praetorian prefect, 545, 554-5; relative of Julia Domna, 550 and *note*; *magister libellorum*; greatest of Roman jurists, 554; accompanies the Emperor into Britain, 573; is murdered by Caracalla's soldiers, vii. 78; his refusal to justify the murder of Geta, 78 and *note*; price of slaves fixed by him, 207 *note*.
- Papirian Law**, ii. 417 *note*.
- Papirian-Plautian Laws**: concerning the Italians, ii. 603-4 and *notes*; concerning the *judicia*, 611-12.
- Papirius**, a senator murdered by the Gauls, i. 365.
- Papirius Cursor, L.**, dictator in the Second Samnite War, i. 429; his quarrel with Fabius, his *magister equitum*, 429-31; defeats

the Samnites, 431; is made consul, 433; dictator, 439, 440, 473.

Papius, C., tribune, iii. 166.

Papus, Aemilius Q., consul, his small estate, i. 400 *note*; commissioner to treat with Pyrrhus, 468; his frugality, 500.

Para. See **Armenia, kings of.**

Parasite, the, in Roman literature, ii. 314-16.

Parens Publicus, the apotheosized Emperor, iv. 181.

Parentalia, festival in honor of the paternal Lares, v. 562.

Paria, name of two celebrated pantonimes in the first century, A. D.: the elder, reveals to Nero a pretended plot, iv. 584; the younger, beloved by Domitia; his murder, v. 205.

Parisi, Gallic people occupying Lutetia, iii. 335.

Paros, one of the Cyclades, garrisoned by Philip of Macedon, ii. 91; given to Athens by the Senate, 106; its famous marble, iii. 700; iv. 223, 356, 357 *note*.

Parthamasiris, nephew of Chosroës, defeated by Trajan, v. 293-6.

Parthaspates, made king of Parthia by Trajan, v. 300.

Parthia, embassy received by Sylla (93 B. C.), ii. 688; iii. 381; defeated and humbled by Tigranes, 130; equivocal conduct towards Rome; kept in check by Armenia, 139; the Euphrates the boundary between it and the Roman Empire, 140, 381; an important empire, out of reach of Rome, 152; expedition of Crassus, 378; its geographical position; the dynasty of the Arsacidae, 380; character of its inhabitants; its relations with Rome, 381; civil war in the Empire, 381-2; details of the campaign, 382-3; campaigns in the two years following, 385; Parthians invade Asia Minor, 623; defeated by Ventidius, 623-4, 642; interfere in the affairs of Judaea, 643; the country nominally given by Antony to Cleopatra's son, 650; character of the Parthian Empire, iv. 28 and *notes*, 29-30; relations of the two Empires in the time of Augustus, 233-5; of Tiberius, 428, 433, 490-1; of Caligula, 512; of Claudius, 545-6; of Nero, 605-8; of Vespasian, v. 156; of Domitian, 198-9; Trajan's war with the Parthians, 292-301; letter of Antoninus to them, 444; Parthian war in the reign of Marcus Aurelius, 460-4; Parthian invasion of Roman provinces repelled by Septimius Severus, vi. 491-2,

503; Roman invasion of Parthian territory, 505-8, 510; internal dissensions and Caracalla's attack, vii. 88-9; Parthian war and treaty in the reign of Macrinus, 97-8; the Parthian Empire subjugated by the Persians; fall of the Arsacidae, 132-5.

Parthia, kings of:—

Arsaces I., founder of the Parthian monarchy, iii. 380; vii. 132.

Mithridates I. (Arsaces VI.), distinguished ruler, iii. 380.

Mithridates II. (Arsaces IX.), sends envoys to Sylla, ii. 609; iii. 381.

Phraates III. (Arsaces XII.), his friendship solicited by Lucullus, iii. 133; and by Pompey; hostilities with the king of Armenia, 139-40; relations with the Romans, 140-1, 381; murdered by his sons, 381.

Mithridates III. (Arsaces XIII.), iii. 381-2

Orodes I. (Arsaces XIV.), iii. 382; defeats Crassus, 383-5; events of his reign, 385, 623-4, 642-3; resigns the throne to his son, 644.

Phraates IV. (Arsaces XV.), iii. 644; events of his reign, 645-7, 655; iv. 234; gives back the Roman standards; marries an Italian, Thermusa; commits his children to Augustus as hostages, 235; murdered by his son, 260 *note*.

Phraataces (Arsaces XVI.), son of Phraates and Thermusa, murdered by his subjects, iv. 260.

Orodes II. (Arsaces XVII.), iv. 260.

Vonones I. (Arsaces XVIII.), iv. 260; expelled by the people, escapes into Syria, 428, 431-2; his death, 432.

Artabanus III. (Arsaces XIX.), obtains the throne on the expulsion of Vonones, iv. 428; makes overtures to Germanicus, 432; endeavors to obtain Armenia for his son, and claims Asia Minor, 490; his relations with Rome and submission, 491; his death, 545.

Gotazes (Arsaces XX.), iv. 545-6.

Vardanes (Arsaces XXI.), iv. 545-6.

Vonones II. (Arsaces XXII.), made king by Augustus, iv. 260, 546.

Vologeses I. (Arsaces XXIII.), his reign of thirty years; seizes Armenia, iv. 546, 605; successful campaign of Corbulo against him, 605-6; his war against Tigranes, 606-7; sues for peace with the Romans, 607;

- offers assistance to Vespasian, v. 84, 136; disaffected, is easily reduced to quiet; asks aid against the Alani, 156.
- Chosroës** (Arsaces XXV.), his proceedings in Armenia; embassy to Trajan, v. 295; war with Rome, 297-301.
- Vologeses III.** (Arsaces XXVIII.), invades Armenia and Syria, v. 460; campaign against him, 461-3; he solicits peace, 463.
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- Praefectus fabrum**, chief of engineers, iii. 528; vi. 234.
- Praefectus frumenti dandi**, originally superintendent of distributions, iv. 95 *note*; later, chief of commissariat for Rome, vi. 466.
- Praefectus morum**, an office created by Caesar as a substitute for the censorship, iii. 506, 522, 529; held by Augustus, iv. 91, 92, 103.
- Praefectus praetorii** (praetorian prefect), this office established by Augustus, iv. 95; its gradual extension and vast importance, vi. 533-4 and *note*; reduced by Diocletian, vii. 391-2; four praetorian prefects in charge of the four prefectures, viii. 4.
- Praefectus sociorum**, military officer in command of contingents of the allies under the early Republic, i. 515.
- Praefectus urbi** (urban prefect): under the Republic called also *custos urbis*, one of the military tribunes having supreme command in the city, i. 346 and *note*; this magistracy, reorganized by Augustus, the most important in the Empire, iv. 94; extent and unlimited character of his jurisdiction, 94 *note*; v. 396 and *note*; under the later Empire, viii. 5.
- Praefectus vigillum**, commander of the night-watch, iv. 90, 104, 123 and *notes*.
- Praeneste**, i. 371, 372, 486; ii. 571; stronghold of Marius, iii. 8, 9; siege of, 10, 12, 15; surrender of the city, 15; Sylla's revenge upon, 27.
- Praenestine Lots** (*Sortes Praenestinae*), i. 201 *note*; iv. 416; v. 213.
- Praenomen**, individual name: about thirty in use in Rome, as Caius, Lucius, Sextus, etc.; the boy as a rule received that of his father or grandfather, ii. 491 *note*; v. 521 *note*.
- Praestatio annonaria**, vi. 250 *note*.
- Praetextati**, boys of noble family who wore the purple-bordered toga (*praetexta*), vi. 57, 561.
- Praetextatus, Vettius Agorius**, Roman prefect, on luxury of the Roman bishops, viii. 237 *note*; organizes medical relief for the poor, 241; favorably received by Justina, 302; priest of Vesta and of the Sun, 302; a zealous pagan, with his wife, 302 and *note*.
- Praetorian cohorts**, originally the general's body-guard, ii. 531; reorganized by Augustus, iv. 95 and *note*; from 41 A.D. they repeatedly interfere in the succession and sell the imperial power to the highest bidder, until they are disbanded by Septimius Severus in 193, and replaced by soldiers taken from the provincial legions, vi. 478-9; Diocletian reduces their number and makes them the city guard of Rome, vii. 393; entirely abolished by Constantine, 459.
- Praetorship**, a curule magistracy, inferior to the consulship, having the administration of justice as its chief duty; created in 366 B. C., i. 385; originally but one praetor (the

- urban), 385; his election, duties, and honors; his *edictum*, 386, 508; a *praetor peregrinus* appointed to settle matters in dispute between citizens and foreigners, 386-7; two additional praetors appointed for Sicily and Sardinia, 590; two praetors sent to Spain, increasing the whole number to six, ii. 131; number increased to eight under Sylla, six of them being sent to govern the provinces, 35; their judgment in civil cases continued, 369 *note*; increased to sixteen by Caesar, iii. 525 *note*; their office, duties, age, in the reign of Augustus, iv. 89 and *note*; could convoke the Senate, 92 *note*; eligible for the office of proconsul, 148; their work in the development of Roman law, 341-2; legislation of Claudius in respect to them, 528; of Hadrian, vi. 392; their only duty in the later Empire to give public games at their own expense, viii. 7 and *note*, 8.
- Praetorium**, the name of the general's tent in the Roman camp, i. 516.
- Praetutians**, a tribe of central Italy, i. 98.
- Praxeas**, early heretic, vii. 36; attacked by Tertullian, 37.
- Presages of evil** (207 B. C.), ii. 44.
- Prevaricatio**, a frequent offence against the law, ii. 341; definition of the word, 341 *note*.
- Primus, M. Antonius**, legate in Illyria, declares for Vespasian, v. 85; his early career, 85 *note*; invades Italy, 86; gains a victory at Bedriacum, 87; and sacks Cremona, 88; negotiations with Vitellius, 89; advances upon Rome, 92; his negotiations with Civilis, 99; conduct after the accession of Vespasian, 137.
- Princeps Senatus**, "prince of the Senate," the first senator to vote, iii. 523.
- Principes**, a class of legionaries, i. 513.
- Principes Juventutis**, "princes of the Roman youth," a title of honor applied by Augustus to his grandsons, as at the head of the equestrian order, iv. 109, 277; and by succeeding Emperors to their heirs, v. 177.
- Prisca**, wife of Diocletian, suspected of being a Christian, is obliged to sacrifice to the gods, vii. 419; her misfortunes and death, 437, 463.
- Prisci Latini**, inhabitants of Latium, composed of Casci, Umbrians, Ausonians, and Siculi, i. 89; their national songs, 182.
- Priscianus**, conspirator against Antoninus Pius, v. 442.
- Priscillianists**, an heretical sect persecuted under Theodosius, viii. 307 and *note*.
- Priscus**, defender of Byzantium, vi. 488; with Septimius Severus at the siege of Atræ, 507.
- Priscus**, brother of the Emperor Philip, in command of the army of Syria, vii. 175; his severity causes revolt, 176-7.
- Priscus**, governor of Macedon, assumes the purple, vii. 224 and *note*.
- Priscus**, philosopher, friend of Julian, viii. 84, 171; present at his death, 220.
- Priscus, Helvidius**, lover of liberty in the reign of Nero, iv. 594; dispute between him and Vitellius, v. 79; denounces informers under Vespasian, 137; offensive attitude towards that Emperor; banished and put to death, 153.
- Priscus, Julius**, praetorian prefect under Vitellius, his death, v. 137 *note*.
- Priscus, Marius**, proconsul of Africa, prosecuted and condemned for malversation under Trajan, v. 257 *note*, 261.
- Priscus, Statius**, recalled from Britain and sent into Cappadocia by Marcus Aurelius, v. 461.
- Prison**, the municipal, guarded by public slaves, vi. 41.
- Privilegium**, a private law, *i. e.*, one having for its object a single individual, forbidden by the Twelve Tables, i. 337.
- Probus**, a Roman general, attempts to seize Egypt; his defeat and death, vii. 298 and *note*.
- Probus, M. Aurelius**, the Emperor, made governor of the East, vii. 191; his pay as tribune, 191 *note*; his German troops, 196 *note*; multitude of prisoners sent home by him, 207; owed his first honors to Valerian, 235; expels the Palmyrenes from Egypt, 309; his victory over the Franks, 319; proclaimed by his soldiers, 330, 332; highly esteemed by Valerian, Aurelian, and Tacitus, 331-2; birth and ancestry, 331 *note*; did not desire the Empire; asked the Senate's confirmation, 332; received with gratitude by the Senate, 333; his campaign in Gaul, 334; number of Barbarians slaughtered by him, 334 *note*; his great engineering works intimidate the Barbarians; his campaign in Rhaetia, Illyricum, and Moesia, 335; and in Asia Minor; his scornful treatment of the Persian king, 336; his review of the frontiers; establishes Barbarian colonies in Thrace, 337-8; his dealings with competitors, 338-9; favors works of public utility, 339-40; is murdered by his troops,

- 340 and *note*; limits the number of Barbarians in his army, viii. 45.
- Procedure**, legal. In civil suits, three successive methods: 1st, by *legis actiones*, i. 339 and *note*; 2d, by formulæ indicated (*in jure*) by the praetor, and applied (*in judicio*) by the judge whom he selected, 385, 508; 3d, by the *cognitio extra ordinem* in the later Empire, vii. 394 and *note*. In criminal cases, jurisdiction belonged at first to the *Centuriatae*, i. 337; later, to the *quaestiones perpetuae*, ii. 368-9; under the Empire, to the Emperor, the Senate, the urban prefect, the praefectus vigilum, and governors of provinces, iv. 102-3; vi. 40-8 and *notes*.
- Proclus**, Neo-Platonist philosopher, "priest of nature," vi. 588; viii. 297.
- Proconsulship**, creation and design of the office, i. 428 and *note*; proconsuls governors of the senatorial provinces, iv. 148-9; their service considered gratuitous, but they receive an indemnity, vi. 221 and *note*, 222.
- Procopius**, Christian martyr, quotes Homer, vii. 422 *note*.
- Procopius**, Roman general, lieutenant of Julian in the Persian War, viii. 217; believed by Jovian to be his rival, 225; sent with Julian's body to Tarsus, 226; disappears for the time, 227; attempts a revolution in the Eastern Empire, 242, 252; his head sent by Valens to Valentinian, 244; his defeat, 253; had in his service three thousand Goths, 262.
- Proculeius, C.**, officer of Octavius, seizes Cleopatra, iii. 670-7.
- Proculus**, eminent jurist, founder of a school (the *Proculiani*), iv. 344; v. 186.
- Proculus**, Roman general, proclaimed in Lyons, at once overthrown by Probus, vii. 339.
- Proculus, Licius**, friend of Otho, v. 62.
- Proculus, Scribonius**, victim of Nero's cruelty, v. 34.
- Procurators**, originally financial agents of the Emperor in the imperial provinces, corresponding to the quaestors of the senatorial provinces; persons of low rank, but frequently with extended powers, iv. 148-51; salaries, 148 *note*; in fiscal cases their decisions made absolute by Claudius, 150; v. 528-9; have the rank of knights, iv. 150 *note*; and consular insignia, v. 528 *note*; their increased importance under the Antonines, vi. 165, 219.
- Procus**, king of Alba Longa, i. 140.
- Professio**, declaration of the tax-payer, vii. 396 *note*.
- Proletarii**, the poorest class of inhabitants of Rome, i. 399 *note*; increased number in the second century B. C., ii. 346, 359; not admitted to serve in the army, 346 *note*; enlisted by Marius, 531; in the time of Augustus iv. 385-6; in the third century A. D., vii. 195.
- Promotus**, Roman general, killed by the *foederati*, viii. 283; his victory over the Gruthunges, 298.
- Propertius, Sextus Aurelius**, lyric poet, iv. 327-8; quoted, v. 524; concerning erection, 559.
- Property** of the first class, i. 243 *note*.
- Propraetor**, governor of a province in which there was no army, usually a former praetor at Rome: not to be appointed till five years had elapsed from the expiration of his former office, iii. 35, 398; *legati pro praetore*, 526; in command in the imperial provinces, iv. 149; vi. 219.
- Proscriptions** of Sylla, number of victims in, iii. 25; involved permanent legal disabilities, 26; extend throughout Italy, 26-7. See also **Marius**, **Octavius**, and **Antony**.
- Proserpine**, Roman name for the Greek goddess Persephone: her temple at Locri pillaged by Pyrrhus, i. 471; tutelary divinity of Enna, ii. 443 *note*; carried off by Pluto, 608; restored to the light of day, vi. 415.
- Protection** of Italian agriculture in the second century B. C., ii. 354.
- Protectores**, imperial body-guard, later form of the praetorian cohort, viii. 15 and *note*, 16, 42.
- Provinces, the Roman**: Sicily the first organized, i. 585 and *note*; theory of provincial administration, 585-9; method of assigning them, ii. 121; details of their organization in the second century B. C., ii. 223-57 and *notes*; Cato's law for restraining the exactions of the governors, 416; miserable condition under Roman government, 636-54 and *notes*; laws powerless to protect them, 654-7 and *notes*; extensive insurrection among them, 658-92; designation of the consular, iii. 371 *note*; Caesar determines the praetorian, 507; their condition about the year 30 B. C., 674-734; division between the Emperor and the Senate, iv.

- 146-50; administration and reforms of Augustus in the provinces, 150-232; their administration under Claudius, 533-49; under the Antonines, vi. 121-88; high moral tone in provincial society, 308-23.
- Provincia**, etymology of the word, i. 585 *note*; extension of meaning, ii. 228.
- Provocatio**, originally an appeal to the people in a matter affecting life, i. 154; sanctioned by the Twelve Tables, 337; question of its suppression, ii. 368, 371.
- Prudentes**. See **Jurisconsults**.
- Prudentius, Aurelius Clemens**, his description of the *taurobolium*, vi. 390; satirizes pagan devotees, viii. 297; celebrates the victory of Saint Ambrose, 305.
- Prusias**. See **Bithynia, kings of**.
- Ptolemais**, important city of Cyrenaica, iii. 727, 729; its present ruins, 727 *note*.
- Ptolemy**. See **Egypt, kings of**.
- Ptolemy**, king of Mauretania, ally of Rome, honors paid him by the Senate, iv. 453; invited to Rome by Caligula, and afterwards put to death, 512.
- Ptolemy** (Apion), king of Cyrene, bequeaths his kingdom to the Roman people, iv. 602.
- Ptolemy** (Claudius Ptolemaeus), famous geographer, contemporary of Hadrian, v. 407; an enthusiast in science, 346-7.
- Ptolemy** (Philadelphus), son of Antony and Cleopatra, acknowledged by his father, iii. 613; receives provinces from Antony, 650.
- Publicana**, or farmers of various taxes, contractors for public works, or for transportation of public stores: a class of the equestrian order, ii. 386-7; their exactions in the provinces, ii. 650-4.
- Publicola, P. Valerius**, colleague of Brutus in the first year of the establishment of the consular office, i. 175; destroys his house not to give offence to the people, 177.
- Publilian Law**, i. 296, 297, 391 and *note*; ii. 371.
- Pudicitia**, Roman goddess, her temples, i. 396; ii. 317.
- Pullus, L. Junius**, his naval disaster, i. 574.
- Punic Wars**: the First, i. 549-80; the Second, i. 648-86; ii. 1-70; the Third, ii. 201-8.
- Pupienus Maximus, M. Clodius**, the Emperor, formerly urban prefect, proclaimed by the Senate, vii. 155; makes his headquarters at Ravenna, 159; receives the submission of Maximin's army, 162; welcomed at Rome, but regards the situation with anxiety, 163; is murdered by the praetorians, 164.
- Puteal**, stone inclosure surrounding a consecrated place, usually a well, i. 259 and *note*.
- Pydna**, battle of, ii. 172-3; second battle of, 193.
- Pylades**, a celebrated dancer in the reign of Augustus, iv. 120.
- Pylae Amanides**, northern pass across the range of Amanus, between Syria and Cilicia, vii. 299 *note*.
- Pylae Ciliciae**, southern pass between Cilicia and Syria, vii. 245, 299 *note*.
- Pyrrhon**, sceptical Greek philosopher, ii. 272.
- Pyrrhus**. See **Epirus, kings of**.
- Pythagoras**, Greek philosopher, his reverence for the Egyptian priests, iii. 723; morality of his followers, vi. 359; his great doctrine, 411, 417.
- Pythia**. See **Apollo and Delphi**.
- QUADI**, a German tribe, established as a kingdom in the reign of Tiberius, iv. 430; disloyal towards the Empire, v. 198; submissive towards Antoninus, 444; and Marcus Aurelius, 475, 486; deliver up Roman captives, 487; their treaty with Commodus, vi. 444; their king put to death by Caracalla, vii. 87; harass Pannonia in the reign of Constantius, viii. 87; hostilities with Valentinian, 250; their country ravaged, 251.
- Quadrantes**, i. 141 *note*.
- Quadrantilla, Ummidia**, her liberality to Casinum, vi. 83.
- Quadratus**, one of the Apostolic Fathers, his *Apology* presented to Hadrian, v. 409.
- Quadratus, Stratius**, proconsul in Asia, his conduct towards the Christians, v. 448-9.
- Quadratus, Ummidius**, governor of Syria, his disagreement with Corbulo, iv. 605; incurs the displeasure of Hadrian, v. 421 *note*.
- Quadratus, Ummidius**, shares in the conspiracy of Lucilla; his unsuccessful attempt to murder the Emperor, vi. 452; is put to death, 453.
- Quadruplatores**, public informers who received a fourth part of the condemned person's property, ii. 369; iv. 464 and *note*; vii. 398-9.
- Quaestiones perpetuae**, tribunals originating

- in the appointment of a special commission (*quaestores parricidii*), i. 508; established as permanent (*perpetuae*) in 149 B. C., ii. 368-9; its judges originally all of senatorial rank, 369, 418; and their decisions without appeal, 418; its judges all of equestrian rank, 474-7; the judges to be chosen by the people from the three ranks, 613; re-organized by Sylla, the judicial positions restored to the Senate, iii. 42; the number of judges, 398 *note*; fall into desuetude under Augustus, iv. 102-3; their jurisdiction in Italy under the Antonines, vi. 40, 47 *note*.
- Quaestor**, a name given to two distinct classes of Roman officers, originally patrician, — one, the financial agents or paymasters (*quaestores aerarii*); the other, the public accusers (*quaestores parricidii*), i. 195 and *note*, 277 *note*, 287, 345.
- Quaestores aerarii**, their duties, i. 345 and *note*; patrician, and at first two in number; in 421 B. C. four; in 410 B. C. three plebeian, 351; in 265 B. C. four quaestors for Italy appointed, 496; duties of the quaestors accompanying a provincial governor, ii. 237-8; number of quaestors increased to twenty by Sylla, iii. 35; *ex-officio* senators, 35 and *note*; number increased to forty by Caesar, 525; quaestorship the first step in a public career; limited to men of wealth, iv. 527-8; duties in the municipia, vi. 66.
- Quaestores alimentorum**, administer the funds of the alimentary institution, v. 269 *note*.
- Quaestores candidati principis**, iv. 90 *note*.
- Quaestores parricidii**, public accusers in the early Republic, i. 345; give place to the *triumviri capitales*, 394.
- Quaestores sacri palatii**, in the later Empire, viii. 3.
- Quaestorium**, the part of the camp where the army-chest, hostages, and spoils of war were kept, i. 516.
- Quietus, C. Fulvius**, one of the "Thirty Tyrants," son of Macrianus, proclaimed Augustus, vii. 261; besieged in Emesa, and put to death by Odenathus, 262.
- Quietus, Q. Lucius**, Moorish general, his ability first recognized by Vespasian, v. 141; accompanies Trajan in the Parthian War, 297; forms a plot against Hadrian, 312; put to death by the Senate, 314; made consul by Trajan, vi. 196.
- Quinctius, L.**, tribune, his attempts to reinstate the knights as judges, iii. 101; is prevented by Lucullus, 101, 124; praetor, deprives Lucullus of his command in Asia, 135.
- Quinquennales**, the duumvirs of the fifth year, whose duty it was to take the census, iv. 156.
- Quinquennalia**, or Neronian Games, iv. 596-7; renewed by Domitian, v. 178-9.
- Quinquennium** of Nero, iv. 571-90.
- Quintianus, Afranius**, conspirator against Nero, v. 20.
- Quintilian** (M. Fabius Quintilianus), the rhetorician, a Spaniard, iv. 603; of uncommon accuracy, 604 *note*; state professor of rhetoric under Vespasian, v. 149; vi. 108, 342; speaks favorably of Domitian; has charge of the grand-nephews of the Emperor, 185; his valuable work, 311; his *Institutions of Oratory*, 340; on morals, 358 *note*.
- Quintili**. See **Condianus**.
- Quintillus**, his courageous death, vi. 541.
- Quintillus, M. Aurelius**, vii. 273 *note*; general in the army of Claudius, 279; proclaimed Emperor; his death, 283.
- Quintus**, Phrygian apostate, v. 448-9.
- Quirina**, a *tribus* established in 241 B. C., i. 582.
- Quirinal**, one of the Seven Hills, forming, with the Palatine and the Capitoline, the most ancient part of the city, and occupied by the Sabine population, i. 189 and *note*; the Gardens of Sallust adjacent, iv. 347.
- Quirinus**, the name of the apotheosized Romulus, i. 146, 205; etymology of the word, 189 *note*; represented by a spear, 217; his flamens, 225; united with Janus, 230.
- Quiritarian ownership**, ii. 242, 243.
- Quirites**, etymology of the word, i. 121 *note*; Roman citizens, 189 *note*; local limitations of their power, 479; antithesis of *commilitones*, as used by Caesar, iii. 485.
- RABIRIUS, C.**, senator, serves as executioner of Saturninus, ii. 555; prosecuted for the murder, iii. 167.
- Rammius**, of Brundisium, testifies against Perseus, ii. 154.
- Ramnenses**, i. 189.
- Rasena**, name by which the Etruscans called themselves, i. 62, 65, 67.
- Ravenna**, city of northern Italy, often suffered

- from freshets, i. 31 *note*; headquarters of Caesar, iii. 415; station of the imperial fleet, iv. 199, 453; residence of Maroboduus, 430; its fleet declares for Vespasian, 86; soldiers chiefly Dalmatians and Pannonians, 90 *note*; seized by Septimius Severus, 474; headquarters of Pupienus; an important position, vii. 159; threatened by the Alemanni, 237.
- Recognitiones**, the, a religious work of the second century A. D., vii. 36.
- Rediculus, Deus**, temple to, ii. 36.
- Regalianus**, one of the "Thirty Tyrants," proclaimed in Pannonia, vii. 260, 266; his death, 267.
- Regia**, the dwelling of the pontifex maximus in the Forum, i. 226 *note*; residence of Caesar, iii. 523.
- Regulus, M. Atilius** (1st), consul, victorious over the Samnites, i. 451.
- Regulus, M. Atilius** (2d), consul, victorious in a sea-fight, i. 556; taken prisoner, 567; sent back to Rome, and on his return to Carthage put to death, 571.
- Reims** (Durocortorum), city of Belgica, altar of, iv. 175; claimed to have been founded by Remus, 221; meeting-place of Gallic deputies, v. 102.
- Religion, Roman**, borrowed from Latin, Sabine, and Tuscan sources, i. 131; a contract with the gods, 131, 221; sprang spontaneously from customs; twofold in its nature, 222; subordinate to state interests, 224; the offspring of fear, 263; national, early enfeebled at Rome, ii. 290; phases of the Roman mind in respect to, 310-11; considered as a means of government, 418; a state religion formed by Augustus, iv. 164-172; its worthlessness under the Antonines, vi. 377-87; many Oriental superstitions and ceremonies engrafted upon it, 387-401; later developments of it, 578-88.
- Remancipatio**, formula of divorce, ii. 331.
- Remus**, twin brother of Romulus, i. 141; his followers, the Fabii, 142; his unlucky omen, 142-3; killed by Romulus, 143.
- Republic**, the Roman: it passes through three phases, — 1st, an aristocratic government, in the hands of the patricians, i. 272-315; 2d, political and religious equality of the two orders, the golden age of the Republic, 315; ii. 71; 3d, the oligarchy, 70; iv. 64.
- Res mancipi**, and **Res nec mancipi**, ii. 385.
- Rescript**, an imperial decision concerning a special case, but having in reality the force of a general law, since every expression of the imperial will was an edict, vi. 191-2.
- Revenue**, the public: from salt-works, forests, mines, and quarries, i. 157; iv. 100; vi. 254 and *note*; viii. 12; rent of the *ager publicus* and land-tax in various forms, i. 289-90, 361, 380, 496; ii. 502 *note*; iv. 100; vi. 251-2; viii. 22 and *note*; from tax on enfranchisements, i. 388; ii. 41, 343 *note*, 363; iv. 100; from fines, i. 402 and *note*; vi. 54; viii. 10 *note*; war indemnities and spoils of war, i. 452, 579; ii. 68, 69, 108 *note*, 122, 124, 277-81; from the provinces in various forms, ii. 238-41; from taxes on capital, personal property, and slaves, ii. 409; iv. 100; vi. 252; from *portoria* (customs dues), ii. 471-2, 576, 642 *note*; iv. 100, 157-8 and *notes*; v. 66-7; vi. 174; 253-4 and *note*; vii. 209 and *note*; viii. 12; from confiscations, iii. 20, 505 *note*, 598; iv. 406 *note*; viii. 12 *note*; from coinage, vi. 253; from various indirect taxes, 253-4.
- Revenues** of the cities, ii. 227 *note*.
- Revolts**, plebeian, i. 284, 331, 390, 394.
- Rewards and pay**, military, i. 521, 522 and *note*.
- Rex, Q. Martius**, sent against the Catilinian conspirators, iii. 176.
- Rex sacrorum**, i. 273, 393 *note*.
- Rhadamistus**, the Iberian, seizes the throne of Armenia; is driven out by Vologeses, iv. 546.
- Rhaseuporis I**, Thracian king, partisan of the Republicans, iii. 607-8; iv. 3.
- Rhaseuporis III**, Thracian king, obliged to share the throne with his nephew Cotys; treacherously seized by the Romans and put to death, 432.
- Rhegium**, legionaries of, punished, i. 474; in the Second Punic War, ii. 11.
- Rhine**, the river, bridged by Caesar, iii. 310 and *note*; by Trajan, iv. 226 and *note*.
- Rhodes**, friendly to Rome, and threatened by Philip of Macedon, ii. 96; friendly to Egypt and Athens, 97; receives cities of Caria at the close of the war, 107; places her troops at the service of Rome against Antiochus, 115; defeated by Antiochus at Samos; afterwards defeats Antiochus and Hannibal, 119; receives more territory on the mainland, 127; friendly to Syria and to Macedon,

- 151; displeased with the Roman Senate, 151 and *note*; sends vessels to assist Rome in the Third Macedonian War, 156; the Rhodians propose to mediate between Rome and Perseus, 167 and *note*; they withdraw the proposal; are greatly injured by Rome, 183; render divine honors to Rome, 224 and *note*; colossal statue of Apollo, 265; ally of Rome against Mithridates, 674; furnishes vessels to the Roman fleet, 690; victory of Cassius over the Rhodians, and plunder of the island, iii. 605; islands temporarily added to Rhodian territory, 708; Rhodes still independent at the time of the establishment of the Empire, 709; Roman policy towards the Rhodians, iv. 2.
- Rhoemetalcès I.**, made king of Thrace, iv. 252; assists the Romans, 253, 263.
- Rhoemetalcès II.**, killed by his wife, 544.
- Rhone**, the river, crossed by Hannibal, i. 661 and *note*.
- Richomer**, a Frank, sent by Gratian with troops to Valens, viii. 267; desires to await the arrival of Gratian before attacking the Goths, 270; valued general of Theodosius, 310; consul, 321 *note*; recommends Eugenius for the Empire, 324.
- Ripenses**, Roman troops guarding the frontiers, viii. 16, 43-4.
- Roads**, great military, marked by mile-stones, i. 278 *note*; ii. 472; their extent and importance, i. 494, 495 and *note*.
- Roma quadrata**, i. 143 *note*, 260.
- Romanus, Saint**, the *Acts* of, vii. 422.
- Rome**, the city, its site consisted of marshy valleys between salubrious hills, i. 40-3; legends of its foundation, 134, 142-4; its growth under the early Kings, 149, 157; the Servian *agger*, 162 and *note*; earlier settlements on the same site, 189-90; growth under the Tarquins, 251-2 and *notes*; sewerage, 252 and *note*; sacked by the Gauls, 364-7; rebuilt, 369-70, 380; its care intrusted to the aediles, 385; suffers from pestilence, 424; ten new temples built in twelve years, 497; building of temples during the third century B. C., 602, 627, 630, 681; streets widened, 626; first marble building erected, ii. 198; Caesar's buildings, iii. 526; those erected in the reign of Augustus, 632, 651, 654; population of the city enormously increased, iv. 37-8; great fire in 64 A. D., v. 1-3; city rebuilt with regularity and splendor, 12-14; Trajan's embellishments, 246-54, 271; new wall built by Aurelian, vii. 293-4.
- Rome**, the state, summary of its history, viii. 334-82.
- Romulus**, son of Mars and Rhea Sylvia, legendary founder of Rome, i. 141; consults the auspices and begins to build, 142; murders his brother Remus, 143; makes the Capitoline the citadel, 144; victory over the Coenmates; offers the *spolia opima*, 145; concludes peace with the Sabines; legend concerning his death, 146; worshipped under the name of Quirinus, 146; believed to have organized Rome, 198.
- Romulus**, son of the Emperor Magnentius, vii. 459 *note*.
- Rosalia**, domestic festival, v. 562.
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- Rostra**, stage in the Forum whence orators addressed the people; it was adorned with the brazen beaks of the galleys taken at Antium, i. 423 *note*.
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- Sentia, Aelia, lex**, on enfranchisements, iv. 112 *note*; vi. 8.
- Septa Julia** of the Campus Martius, iii. 526.
- Septimiana, Via**, road constructed by a Roman legion in Africa, vi. 572 *note*.
- Septimian Arch** in Rome, vi. 570; Geta's name effaced from it, vii. 77.
- Septimiani**, decurions of Batanaea, so called, vi. 517.
- Septimius**, name assumed by the Odenathi, vi. 519.
- Septizonium**, a portico built by Septimius Severus, vi. 568; some of its columns used in building the Vatican, 586 *note*.
- Sequani**, a Celtic nation of Gaul, ii. 537; their export of salted provisions, iii. 275; iv. 220; hostilities with the Aedui, iii. 279; and with the Suevi, 279-80; furnish wheat to Caesar's legions, 289; the legions quartered among them, 292; take part in the insurrection of Sacrovir, iv. 449; their territory invaded by Virginius, v. 47; resist Sabinus, 102.
- Serapeion**, temple of Serapis: at Alexandria, v. 379; vi. 526; vii. 90; viii. 322; at Memphis, vi. 524; at Delphi, vi. 528.
- Serapion**, king of the Alemanni, viii. 45 *note*.

- Serapis**, an Egyptian divinity, his temple at Rome destroyed by order of the Senate, ii. 297; a temple erected to him by the triumvirs, iii. 590; great healing divinity, 722; vi. 400; worshipped in Rome, iv. 187; honored by Vespasian, v. 135; worshipped in Dacia, 243; his temple at Hadrian's Villa, 382; his worship at Pelusium prohibited by Marcus Aurelius, 480; temple to him built by Domitian at Rome, vi. 390; his worship attractive to Septimius Severus, 528; great multitude of his temples in Egypt, 528 and *note*; his worship monotheistic and remarkably pure, 580; identified with Mithra and Sol, vii. 483.
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- Serenus, Q. Sammonicus**, friend of Geta, his library, vi. 552; author of books on medicine, 552 *note*.
- Seres**, inhabitants of a country in the east of Asia, their exports to Rome, iv. 218.
- Sertorianus, Sertorius Euporistus**, iii. 82 *note*.
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- Servilla**, wife of M. Lepidus, her death, iv. 46.
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- Servili**, natives of Alba, i. 132; held the consulship seven times in eighty-six years, ii. 375 *note*; a family of importance, iii. 23.
- Servilius, C.**, Roman general, supersedes Lucullus in Sicily in the Servile War, ii. 547.
- Servilius, Q.**, proconsul, murdered at Asculum, ii. 584.
- Servilius, Marcus**, champion of Paulus Aemilius, ii. 180.
- Servilius Priscus, P.**, consul, his success against the Volsci, i. 283.
- Servilius Priscus, Spurius**, consul, i. 295 and *note*.
- Servius Galba**, military tribune, an enemy of Paulus Aemilius, ii. 180; praetor in Spain, defeated by the Lusitanians; his treacherous revenge, 211.
- Servius Tullius**, sixth king of Rome, enlarges the city and divides it into quarters, i. 162, 163; makes a treaty with the Latin towns and obtains supremacy over them, 163, 164; other wars, 164, 165; marriage of his two daughters; subsequent murders; his death, 165, 166; the legislator, 240; and popular favorite, 247, 248.
- Sesterce (sestertius)**, a Roman silver coin of two and a half *ases*; four sesterces make a *denarius*, i. 631; vi. 263 *note*.
- Sestertium**, a thousand sesterces, vii. 403 *note*.
- Sestius, L.**, friend of Brutus, named by Augustus as his successor in the consulship, iv. 79.
- Setia**, a city of Latium, on a hill, i. 313 *note*; its wine, iv. 217 *note*.
- Settimania, Porta**, a gate in Aurelian's Wall, vi. 568.
- Severa, Valeria**, first wife of Valentinian I., divorced by him, viii. 234, 251; mother of Gratian, 251-2; her return to power, 276; remains on friendly terms with her husband's second wife, 252.

- Severi Augustales**, the six principal members of the college of Augustal priests, iv. 165 and *note*; vi. 70.
- Severianus**, son of the Emperor Alexander Severus, is put to death by Licinius, vii. 447, 463.
- Severina, Ulpia**, vii. 285 *note*; 317 *note*.
- Severus, Cassius**, celebrated orator and satirist, exiled by Augustus, iv. 330; circulation of his writings allowed by Caligula, 496.
- Severus, Catilius**, prefect, aspires to the Empire, v. 421 and *note*; 424.
- Severus, Cincius**, put to death under Severus, vi. 541 *note*.
- Severus, Flavius Valerius**, the Emperor, proclaimed Caesar, vii. 434; receives Italy and Africa, 441; made Augustus, 445; sent to overthrow Maxentius, is unsuccessful, 446; surrenders to Maximian, abdicates and is put to death, 447.
- Severus, Julius**, conqueror of the Jews, v. 402; receives the triumphal ornaments, 416 *note*.
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- Severus, Sulpicius**, ecclesiastical historian, on the martyrs, vii. 428 *note*.
- Sextius, Lucius**, tribune of the people and consul, i. 382-4.
- Sextus Empiricus**, wisest of the ancient sceptics, vi. 345.
- Sibyl**, name designating various prophetic

women who appeared at different times in antiquity; some authors mention only four, — the Erythraean, the Samian, the Egyptian, and the Sardinian; but it was more generally believed that there were ten, of whom the Cumaean is the most celebrated: she comes to Tarquin with books, i. 169; etymology of the name, 169 *note*; a priestess of Apollo, 237; her cave at Cumae, iv. 39.

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Sicambri, a German tribe, iv. 18; visited by Roman traders, 215; cross the Rhine, 244; are defeated and give hostages, 245; unite with other tribes to repel a Roman invasion, 251, 252, 255; are obliged to submit, and are removed into Gaul, 258.

Sicani and **Siculi**, driven into Sicily, i. 56.

Sicarii, Jewish assassins, v. 118.

Sicarius, *lex de*, iii. 41; iv. 598 and *note*.

Sicca, Numidian city, Carthaginian mercenaries at, i. 604; surrendered to the Romans, ii. 504–5; charitable foundation existing there in the reign of Marcus Aurelius, v. 269 *note*.

Sicily, originally colonized by the Dorians, i. 76; later by the Mamertines, 103; situation of the Greek colonies in, 461; desired both by Rome and Carthage, 552; divided among three powers (264 B. C.), 553; condition after the First Punic War; general decay of the Greek race extends to, 461; campaign of Pyrrhus in, 470–1, 552; relations of Carthage to, 536, 553; her mints furnish Carthage with coins, 537; mentioned in Tarquin's treaty with Carthage, 549; theatre of the First Punic War, 555–80; lost to Carthage; carefully fortified by the Romans, 582; declared a province, 585

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Sicinius Dentatus, L., tribune, his military career, i. 322, 325; his attack upon the consuls and reconciliation with them, 325, 326; his murder by order of the decemvirs, 329.

Siculi, a Pelasgic race established in the north of Italy, i. 49; driven southward by the Sicani, 54; and later by the Umbrians; settle in Sicily, which receives their name, 56; a remnant uniting with the Umbrians, Ausonians, and Casci, or Aborigines, form the *Prisci Latini*, 89.

Sicyon, a city of Greece, member of the Achaean League: its poverty, ii. 87; member of the Amphictyonic Council, iv. 207.

Sidicini, a people of central Italy, i. 95; threatened by the Samnites, 413–14; make a league with the Latins, 417–18; attack the Aurunci, 423; are defeated and reduced to submission by the Romans, 424.

Sidon, Phoenician seaport, deprived of liberty by Augustus, ii. 251; its slave-mart, 436; an important centre of the glass manufacture, iii. 717; iv. 225; its dispute with Damascus, 489 *note*.

Sidonius, C. Sollius Apollinaris, Latin poet, prefect in Gaul, and bishop of Clermont, viii. 23 *note*.

Signaculum, leaden medal identifying the soldier, vi. 239.

Signia (Segni), ancient city of Latium, its Cyclopean or Pelasgic walls, i. 51 *note*; Roman colony, 168; faithful to Rome in the

- Second Punic War, ii. 41; important position held by Marius, iii. 8.
- Signifer**, or **Vexillarius**, the standard-bearer, i. 515.
- Sila**, the great forest in Bruttium, seventy miles long, i. 23, 36; half of it ceded to Rome, 496; last shelter of Hannibal in Italy, ii. 49.
- Silana, Julia**, widow of Silius, proposes to re-marry, iv. 583; Agrippina prevents her marriage; she revenges herself; her exile, 584.
- Silanus, M. Junius**, legate in Spain, defeats Hanno, ii. 57.
- Silanus Manlianus, D. Junius**, condemned by his father for extortions in Macedon, kills himself, ii. 424 and *note*.
- Silanus, M. Junius**, consul, defeated by the Cimbri, ii. 528.
- Silanus, D. Junius**, consul, iii. 173, 175; votes death to the Catilinian conspirators, 182; modifies his view, 183.
- Silanus, C. Junius**, governor of Asia, condemned for extortion, iv. 448 *note*.
- Silanus, Appius Junius**, husband of Domitia Lepida, refuses the advances of Messalina; is accused of conspiracy and put to death, iv. 553.
- Silanus, M. Junius**, great-grandson of Augustus, poisoned by command of Agrippina, iv. 566.
- Silanus, L. Julius**, his marriage with Octavia broken off; his death, iv. 562.
- Silanus, L. Junius Torquatus**, victim of Nero's cruelty, v. 26.
- Silanus, T. Turpilius**, losing Vaga, is put to death, ii. 509-10 and *note*.
- Silius, C. (1st)**, friend of Agrippina, his indiscretion; his death, iv. 467.
- Silius, C. (2d)**, lover of Messalina, who marries him publicly during the lifetime of Claudius, iv. 555; courage and death, 558.
- Silius Italicus, C.**, consul, announces the flight of Nero, v. 50; proconsul of Asia under Vespasian, 146; praises Domitian, 185; senator and poet, vi. 332.
- Silo, Q. Pompeidius**, a Marsian, designs by violence to secure citizenships for the allies; seeks to obtain the partisanship of the child Cato, ii. 565; the soul of the Social War, 581; Italian consul, 586; in the third year of the war arms the slaves; seeks aid from Mithridates, 602; enters Bovianum in triumph; is killed in a skirmish, 603.
- Silphium**, a valuable product of the Cyrenaica, ii. 517.
- Silvanus**, Roman officer left in charge of Saloniinus; his defeat and death, vii. 258.
- Silver**, its use limited by law in third century, i. 500; a senator expelled for having ten pounds; first coinage of silver, 269 a.c., 501 *note*; obtained from Spain, 531 and *note*, 536; ii. 210; its relative value compared with gold, i. 531 *note*; ii. 129 *note*; vi. 267 *note*; manufactured silver brought home by the proconsuls, ii. 279; mines at Laurion, vi. 146 *note*; amount furnished by the Spanish mines under the Antonines, 267; yield of the Spanish silver mines in the time of Polybius, ii. 241 *note*; obtained in Gaul, iv. 220-1. See also **Coinage**.
- Simeon, Saint**, bishop of Jerusalem, v. 121; his martyrdom in the reign of Trajan, 289.
- Similis, Sulpicius**, centurion in the reign of Trajan, becomes prefect under Hadrian, v. 402.
- Simon Ben Giora**, leader of the Idumaeans during the Roman war, occupies the upper city, v. 127; escapes from the temple during the siege of Jerusalem, 130; captured by Titus, 131; follows the victorious general in his triumph; is put to death, 132.
- Singara**, a city of Mesopotamia, captured by Trajan, v. 297; limit of the Roman possessions, vii. 381; scene of Roman victory over Sapor, viii. 65-6; taken by Sapor, 124; finally abandoned by the Romans, 225.
- Sinope**, Greek colony on the Euxine, besieged and taken by the king of Pontus and made the capital of his kingdom, ii. 661 *note*, 665; iii. 127; Mithridates buried there, 148; favored by Pompey, 151; receives a Roman colony, 708-9; v. 156.
- Sinuessa**, a city of Latium, occupied by the Romans, with a colony, i. 450; on a branch of the *Via Appia*, 495 *note*.
- Sipontum**, a city of southern Italy, taken by Alexander the Molossian, i. 425; a Roman colony established there, ii. 348; who desert the place after a few years, 348 *note*; occupied with troops by Caesar, iii. 432.
- Sirens, Isle of the** (*Sirensae Insulae*), off the Campanian coast, iii. 633.
- Sirmium** (Metrovitz), a city in Pannonia, great centre of Roman influence, iv. 256; attacked by the Pannonians, 262; important city under the Antonines, vi. 135; death of Claudius II., vii. 282; birthplace of the Emperor Probus, 331 *note*; visited by Dio-

- cletian, 362; residence of Galerius, 367; Magnentius attempts to take the city, viii. 71; triumphal entrance of Julian, 130.
- Siscia** or **Segesta** (Sissek), a city of Pannonia, taken and garrisoned by Octavius, iii. 654; centre of Roman influence, iv. 256; held by Tiberius against the Pannonians, 263; eclipsed by Sirmium, vi. 135; taken by Magnentius, viii. 71; taken by Theodosius from Maximus, 310.
- Sister's Post**, the, i. 155.
- Sistrum**, sacred musical instrument of Isis, ii. 322 *note*.
- Sitifa** (Setif), Mauretanian town, centre of the insurrection of Tacfarinas, vi. 148; in a fruitful territory, 151.
- Sittius**, African adventurer employed by Caesar, iii. 490, 498; established at Cirta, 506 and *note*.
- Sixtus II**, Pope, martyred under Valerian, vii. 251.
- Slaves**, in early Rome employed in agriculture, i. 261, 263; two legions enlisted in the Roman army during the Second Punic War, ii. 3, 16, 18; price of, 358 *note*, 364; practise various trades at Rome, 360-1 and *notes*; a fifth of the population of Rome, 365 *note*; employed in financial affairs, 388 *note*; Cato's view of, 419-20; their wrongs drive them to revolt, 432; contrasted with citizens by Cicero, 433 and *notes*; contempt of antiquity for, 433-4; market of, largely supplied, 434-5 and *notes*; and in what ways, 435-7; great numbers owned by individuals, 437 and *note*; rules for their treatment, 439-41; legal status, 439-41; revolt of, in central Italy, incited by Vettius, a Roman knight, defeated by Lucullus, 545; cause of the revolt in Sicily, 546; its temporary success, 546-7; final defeat, 547; many furnished to the market by piracy, iii. 113; ameliorated condition under the Antonines, vi. 1-8; and under Septimius Severus, 567-8 and *note*; generally ruder and more barbaric in the third century A. D., vii. 206-7; severely treated by the laws of Constantine, 550 *note*; condition under the Christian Empire, viii. 37-40.
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- Smyrna**, city of Asia Minor, subjugated by Antiochus, ii. 75; member of a league, 86; faithful to the Romans and rewarded by them, 127; its temple to Rome and Augustus, iv. 170 *note*; early temple to Rome, 183 *note*; its valuable wines, 223 *note*; desires to build a temple to Tiberius, 490; visited by Hadrian, v. 362; aided by Marcus Aurelius, 469; persecution of Christians at, 506; vii. 230; its electoral comitia, vi. 31.
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- Socialist doctrines** of the present day founded on a Roman idea, ii. 449.
- Socrates**, eminent Greek philosopher, speculative character of his teaching, ii. 268; despised by Cato, 287; his ethics set forth by Apuleius, vi. 419 *note*, 420.
- Socrates**, ecclesiastical historian, vii. 473 *note*; 474 *note*; 495 *note*; 537 *note*; viii. 145 *note*; 146 *note*; 148 *note*.
- Solarium**, a sun-dial, i. 629.
- Soldiers' Pay**, established 405 B. C., i. 351, 355; its amount, 522 and *note*; increased by Caesar, iii. 405 *note*; its amount under Augustus, iv. 388 and *note*; under Domitian, v. 184 *note*; under the Antonines, vi. 238.
- Solidus**, a gold coin of the later Empire, vii. 403 *note*.
- Solon, Julius**, a senator, put to death by Septimius Severus, vi. 480 *note*.
- Sopater**, a Neo-Platonist, put to death by Constantine, vii. 496 and *note*.
- Sophene**, a district of Armenia, made a separate kingdom by Pompey, iii. 139; made a kingdom by Nero, iv. 605; one of the Roman provinces relinquished by Jovian to Sapor, vii. 381 *note*.
- Sophocles**, Greek tragedian, ii. 320; an Athenian, 675; ignores the passion of love, iv. 327; religious awe of his dramas, v. 300; his *Antigone*, vii. 56.
- Sophonisba**, daughter of Hasdrubal, becomes

- the wife of Syphax, ii. 63; falls into the hands of Masinissa and is put to death, 64.
- Sora**, a city of Latium, taken by the Romans, i. 378; colonized by Rome, 402, 413; garrisoned, 423; in the first line of defence against the Samnites, 492; mentioned by Juvenal, vi. 283.
- Sortes of Praeneste**. See **Praenestine Lots**.
- Sosianus, Antistius**, banished for satirical verses against Nero, iv. 599.
- Sosigenes**, Alexandrian astronomer, employed by Caesar to regulate the calendar, iii. 511.
- Sosius, C.**, governor of Syria, victorious over the Parthians, iii. 642; order to support Herod, takes Jerusalem, 643; consul; is disgusted with Antony's folly, 651; in Antony's name reproaches Octavius, 655.
- Soter, Demetrius**, Seleucid king, friend of Polybius, ii. 219.
- Sozomenus**, ecclesiastical historian of the fifth century, vii. 511, 519.
- Spain** (Hispania Citerior, or Tarraconensis, Hispania Ulterior, or Baetica), legendary visit of the Tyrian Hercules to Spain, i. 530; furnishes silver to commerce, 531 and *note*, 536; explored by Tyrian colonists, 532; trading-posts established by the Carthaginians, 536; furnishes mercenaries to Carthage, 539; conquest by Amilcar; Hasdrubal founds Carthage on the coast facing Africa, 610; country only partially subdued by Carthage, 651-2; scene of the earliest campaign of the Second Punic War, 652-60; and of its conclusion, ii. 50-8; command in Spain hereditary with the Roman Scipios and the Carthaginian Barcas, 53; final expulsion of the Carthaginians, 58; founding of the Roman colony Italica, 59; hostility of the people to a provincial organization, 131; character of the people, 132; Roman attempts to subjugate the country, 132-4; easy terms made with the Spaniards by Sempronius Gracchus, 133-4; her persistent resistance, 209; continued hostilities, 210-16; the country quickly Latinized, 217 and *notes*, 218; complains of the rapacity of its cities, 233; administration, 237; legal condition of its cities, 246 *note*; regulation in respect to its taxes, 247-8; its provincial assemblies, 254; supplies Rome with corn, 359; invaded by the Cimbri, 530; governed by Sertorius, iii. 63; who rouses the Spaniards and makes a last stand for the Marian party in the province, 73-91; stand made against Caesar by Pompey's lieutenants, 439; campaign there, and pacification of the province, 439-40; falls to the share of Octavius, 614; population of the country, 676, 678; condition in the time of Octavius, 679-82; visited by Augustus, iv. 78, 201; divided between the Senate and the Emperor, 147 *note*; subject to customs regulations, 157; reorganized, 202; his popularity in the country, 203-4; products of the country, 222 and *note*; great prosperity of the province, 602; list of distinguished Spaniards under the Caesars, 602-3, and v. 224 and *note*; Galba, governor of Spain, saluted Emperor by the Spanish legions, 56; the Seventh Legion (*Gemina*) Spanish, 76; receives the *jus Latii* from Vespasian, 158; Trajan, the first provincial Emperor, a Spaniard, 224; Hadrian of Spanish ancestry, 305 *note*; Hadrian in Spain, 344; the family of Marcus Aurelius of Spanish origin, 457 *note*; condition of Spain under the Antonines, vi. 130-2; absorbed into the Gallic prefectures, 132; Spanish towns plundered by the Franks, vii. 236; the Emperor Theodosius a Spaniard, viii. 276.
- Spalato** (*Salonae palatium*), Diocletian's residence after his abdication, vii. 431-8.
- Sparta**, condition of (200 B. C.), ii. 83-5; her reduced population, 84 *note*; manufacture of purple, iii. 694; has charge of the Actaeon Games, 697; honored by Augustus, iv. 206.
- Spartacus**, a Thracian, his character, chief in the Servile War, iii. 93; his successes, 94; his difficulty in obtaining obedience, 95-6, 98; defeats Mummius, 96; is pursued by Crassus and defeated, 97-8; his death, 98.
- Spartianus**, one of the authors of the *Augustan History*: concerning Hadrian, v. 348, 404 and *notes*.
- Spendius** and **Matho**, generals of the mercenaries, i. 605-8.
- Spoletum** (Spoleto), city of central Italy, Roman colony, i. 492; on the *Via Flaminia*, 495 *note*; its resistance to Hannibal, 538, 675 and *note*; ii. 41; some of its inhabitants receive citizenship, 581; its aqueduct, 581 *note*.
- Spolia opima**, armor and weapons stripped by the commander-in-chief of a Roman army from the leader of the enemy on a field of battle, and dedicated to Jupiter Feretrius:

- first offered by Romulus, i. 145; second, by Cornelius Cossus, 352; third, by M. Claudius Marcellus, 601.
- Sportula**, the patron's gift of food or money to his clients, iv. 119; v. 87-9.
- Sporus**, a freedman, favorite of Nero, v. 32.
- Spurinna, Vestriccius**, general in Germany, v. 226; mentioned by Pliny with admiration, vi. 317.
- Stabiae**, a city of Campania, buried under ashes, i. 26; joins the allies in the Social War, ii. 589; deprived of part of its territory, iii. 27; scene of Pliny's death, v. 169.
- Standard**, the Roman: the wolf their original emblem, i. 515 *note*; replaced by the eagle (105 B.C.), ii. 531; worshipped by the soldiers, vi. 233; vii. 480; the introduction of the eagles and the *labarum*; the Roman, placed in the *aerarium* on return from campaigns, i. 510 *note*; vii. 480; set up in camp in front of the general's tent, 516; the *labarum*, 475-80 and *notes*.
- Statielli**, tribe in the Maritime Alps, ii. 154. See *Liguria*.
- Statilius, L.**, accomplice of Catiline, iii. 174 *note*; seized and placed in Caesar's charge, 180; put to death, 184.
- Stationarii**, a class of troops, viii. 47.
- Statius, P. Papinius**, Roman poet, invited by Domitian to his palace, v. 184; eulogy on Etruscus and Abascantus, two freedmen, vi. 224; describes Polla, Lucan's widow, 317; an improvisator, 333.
- Stativa, castra**, permanent garrisons of the frontiers, iv. 99, 387-8 and *notes*; v. 198; become by degrees demoralized, 318; and are restored to discipline by Hadrian, 319-22.
- Stephanophoros**, the crown-bearer, ii. 138 *note*.
- Stephanus**, murderer of Domitian, v. 214.
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- Stertinius, Q.**, Roman physician, his liberality to Naples, vi. 83; amount of his fees, 83 *note*.
- Stilicho**, a Vandal, Roman general attempts to revenge the murder of Promotus, viii. 283-4; husband of the niece of Theodosius, 327.
- Stimuli**, used by Caesar, iii. 344.
- Stoeni**, destroyed by Marcius Rex, ii. 590-1.
- Stoicism**. See *Philosophy*.
- Stola**, characteristic dress worn by the Roman matron, i. 373.
- Stolo, Licinius**, tribune of the people, i. 382, 383.
- Strabo**, the geographer, on the invention of legends, vi. 378.
- Strabo, Acilius**, governor of the Cyrenaica under Nero, iv. 602.
- Strasburg (Argentoratum)**, scene of Julian's victory over the Alemanni, viii. 96-7.
- Strategius**, called also *Musonianus*, an Arian, at the court of Constantine, vii. 495.
- Streets of Rome**, paved (174 B.C.), ii. 336 *note*.
- Stromboli**, i. 27.
- Suburra**, name of a street in Rome, i. 252 *note*.
- Suessa Aurunca**, a city of Campania, native place of Lucilius, i. 133; stronghold of the Aurunci, 423; colonized by the Romans, 436; in the second line of Roman defence, 492.
- Suessa Pometia**, a city of Latium, besieged and taken by Tarquin, i. 167; taken by Servilius, 283.
- Suessiones**, defeated by Caesar, iii. 294.
- Suetonius Tranquillus, C.**, imperial secretary under Hadrian; disgraced on account of an offence against Sabina, v. 406; vi. 225; a man of moderate tastes, 311; a collector of facts rather than historian, 340.
- Suevi**, invade Gaul, iii. 213; their alliance with the Gallic tribes, 279-80; formidable to Gaul; Caesar's account of them, 286, 307-8; his campaign against them, 286-90; their retreat into Germany, 291; molest the Usipetes and Tencteri, 307-8; are destroyed by Caesar, 379.
- Suffetes**, Carthaginian judges, i. 545 and *note*.
- Suffragii, jus**, the right of voting in the Roman comitia, i. 483 and *note*.
- Suicide**, frequent in the latter part of the reign of Tiberius, iv. 483-5; among philosophers, vi. 312, 314-15.
- Sulla, Servius**, accomplice of Catiline, iii. 174 *note*.
- Sulpicia**, Roman poetess in the reign of Domitian, v. 203-4; respected by Martial, vi. 316.
- Sulpicianus, Flavius**, father-in-law of Pertinax, sent by him to the praetorians, vi. 469; on the death of Pertinax bids against Julianus for the Empire, 469-70; put to death by Severus as a partisan of Albinus, 503.
- Sulpicius, Q. Longus**, military tribune, his treaty with the Gauls, i. 366-7.
- Sulpicius, Servius Praetextatus**, delivers

- Tusculum, i. 372; son-in-law of Flavius Ambustius, 382.
- Sulpicius Gallus, C.**, legionary tribune, explains an eclipse of the moon, ii. 172 *note*; is chosen patron by the Spaniards, 233.
- Sulpicius Rufus, P.**, tribune, friend of the nobles, Cicero's praise of, ii. 610; tool of Marius, 610-12; his revolutionary measures, 611-13; influences the Senate to forbid Sylla's advance, 614-15; is betrayed and killed, 615; his head placed above the rostra; his laws abolished, 616.
- Sulpicius Lemonia Rufus, Servius**, orator and jurist, prosecutes Murena, iii. 175 *note*; his wife Postumia devoted to the interests of Caesar, 195; consul, 404 and *note*; sent by Caesar as proconsul into Greece, 537; praised by Cicero, iv. 341.
- Summanus**, ancient Etruscan divinity, god of the night, i. 128, 130.
- Sumptuary Laws**, concerning silver, i. 500; concerning gold, ii. 16; the Orchian, 286 *note*; concerning dress and equipage, 394-7, 409; against luxury of the table, 414 and *note*; against extravagance at festivals and funerals, iii. 44 and *note*; Caesar's law, 513; Aurelian's laws, vii. 317-18.
- Sun**, the (the Greek Helios), identified in early Roman worship with Janus, i. 126, 134; worshipped at Carthage, 526; his altar on Haemus, ii. 143; Egyptian kings claim descent from, iv. 176; Nero's colossus consecrated to the Sun by Vespasian, v. 145; his temple at Baalbec, 372; the supreme divinity, vi. 403; his temple and priests at Emesa, 547; vii. 101, 315; his worship established at Rome by Elagabalus, 111; where it assumes great importance, 113; worshipped in Armenia, 245; his temple at Palmyra restored by Aurelian, 306; his temple at Rome, 315-16; identified with Mithra and Apollo, 483-4 and *notes*; special protector of the Constantinian family, 485-6; identified with Christ, 486-90 and *note*; special divinity of Julian, viii. 170-1.
- Sun-dial**, first introduced in Rome, i. 629; uncorrected for a century, ii. 336.
- Suovetaurilia**, sacrifices of three animals, — swine, sheep, and bull, i. 233-4, 507 *note*; performed at the closing of the census, 508; iv. 156.
- Superindictions**, viii. 13 and *note*.
- Sura, Bruttius**, Roman general, defeats the army of Mithridates in Greece, ii. 676.
- Sura, L. Licinius**, his ability first recognized by Vespasian, v. 141; recommends Trajan to Nerva, 223; Trajan's gratitude to him, 223 *note*; a Spaniard, 224 *note*; remains the Emperor's confidential adviser, 307, 308; inscription detailing his honors, vi. 241.
- Sura, P. Cornelius Lentulus**, accomplice of Catiline, iii. 174; his previous career, 174 *note*; thought himself predestined to reign over Rome, 174 *note*, 175; his dealings with the deputies of the Allobroges, 179; taken into custody, 180; put to death in the Tullianum, 184.
- Surrentum** (Sorrento), city on the Bay of Naples, occupied by the Etruscans, i. 68; on a branch of the *Via Appia*, 495.
- Sutrium**, ancient Etruscan city, occupied by a Roman colony, i. 79; frontier fortress, 360, 371, 491; besieged by the Etruscans, 438; scene of a decisive battle, 439 and *note*; on the *Via Cassia*, 495 *note*; refuses aid to Rome in the Second Punic War, ii. 42.
- Sybaris**, a city of southern Italy, in a malarial region, i. 31; extreme fertility of its territory, 37 *note*; figure of an ox on its coin, 45; extensive sway, 104, 110; great prosperity and downfall, 110-11; mentioned by Juvenal, ii. 283.
- Sylla Felix, L. Corneli us**, quaestor with Marius in Numidia; his character and popularity, ii. 513; gallantry in battle; sent to hold a conference with Bocchus; receives Jugurtha a prisoner, 514; is associated by Marius in the latter's triumph, 517; becomes hostile to Marius, 540; praetor in Asia, 561, 595, 609, 668; persuades the allies to assist Rome, 582; open hostility to Marius; his slow advance, 594, 608; seeks to supplant Marius, 595; consular legate of Porcius in the Social War, 597; exhibits great zeal and activity, 600; dealings with mutineers; successful campaign, 602-3; obtains the consulship, 603, 609; besieges Nola, 604; obtains command of the army against Mithridates, 609; in Rome, narrowly escapes death, 612-13; begins civil war, 613-14; his conduct in Rome, 614-17; departs for Asia, 617; and is thus out of the way of Marius, 631; crosses the Adriatic, 676; and advances upon Athens, breaks through the Long Walls, and attacks the Piraeus, 677; winters at Eleusis, and renews the attack in the spring, 678; besieges Athens, 679; enters the city; resumes his siege of the Piraeus, 680;

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- Sylla, Faustus Cornelius**, son of the dictator, appointed by the Senate to rebuild the curia, iii. 392; husband of Pompeia, 396 *note*; Pompeian general in Africa, 486; his death, 498.
- Sylla, P. Cornelius**, nephew of the dictator, consul-elect, condemned for bribery; engages in a conspiracy with Catiline to murder the consul who took his place, iii. 165; accused of being concerned in Catiline's treason, 174 *note*; protected by Cicero, makes him a gift, 364 *note*.
- Sylla, Servius Cornelius**, nephew of the dictator, accomplice of Catiline, iii. 174 *note*.
- Sylla, Faustus Cornelius**, accused of conspiracy by Nero, and exiled to Marseilles, iv. 598; put to death, 614.
- Sylvanus**, rustic divinity, i. 203; ii. 296 and *note*.
- Sylvanus**, imitator of Magnentius, viii. 68; deserts to Constantius, 72; his services in Gaul, 80; accused of treason, allows himself to be proclaimed, and is put to death, 81.
- Sylvia, Rhea**, a vestal, mother of Romulus and Remus, i. 140, 141.
- Symmachus, Q. Aurelius**, on Constantine's religion, vii. 519 *note*; Roman author and orator, viii. 21; urban prefect, 34 *note*; appointed prefect of Rome, 235; his fear of brigands in Campania, 258; on the religious situation, 285; favorably received by Justinian, 302; endeavors to obtain the reversal of Gratian's decree; his debate with Saint Ambrose, 303-5; consul under Theodosius, 321; in temporary disgrace; his pardon obtained by the Arian bishop of Rome, 322 *note*.
- Syndicus**, an agent appointed by the Curia to defend its interests in courts of justice, vi. 70; and in the presence of the Emperor or the proconsul, viii. 240.
- Synesius**, bishop of Ptolemais, richest citizen of the Cyrenaica, viii. 198 *note*; scarcely a Christian when made bishop, 278-9; calls for the reconstruction of a national army, 284 *note*; seems to ignore the existence of the Pope, 286 *note*; excommunicates the president of the Pentapolis, 320 and *note*.
- Synnada**, a city of Phrygia famous for its marble, united by Pompey to Cilicia, iii. 150, 712; its marble exported to Rome, iv. 224; vi. 280 *note*.
- Syphax**, king of Numidia, visited by Scipio and persuaded to become an ally of Rome, ii. 58; abandons that alliance, marries the daughter of Hasdrubal, and expels Masinissa from Numidia, 63; is defeated and made prisoner by Laelius and Masinissa, 64.
- Syracuse**, Greek colony in Sicily; besieged by the Carthaginians, i. 470; independent kingdom under Hiero, 553; ally of Rome, 557; left free by Rome, 585; its defection, ii. 22; besieged by the Romans, 23; taken and sacked, 27; receives a Roman colony, iv. 206; pillaged by the Franks, vii. 338.

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Antiochus V. (Eupator), proclaimed and protected by the Senate, ii. 219.

Demetrius Soter, son of Seleucus Philopator, hostage at Rome in the place of Epiphanes, ii. 155, 219; escapes and claims his inheritance, 219.

Antiochus VIII. (Grypus), murders his mother, Cleopatra, ii. 659; his five sons, 659 *note*.

Antiochus XIII. (Asiaticus), on his way to Rome with gifts, plundered by Verres, ii. 643; seventeenth and last of the Seleucidae, iii. 142 *note*; his kingdom reduced to a province by Pompey, 143.

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Tablinum, part of a Roman house, vi. 281 and *note*.

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Tabularium, place where the public records were kept, a building on the Capitoline hill, i. 384 *note*; *tabulariae* in the provinces, iv. 159.

- Tacfarinas**, his attempt to invade the province of Africa; defeated, iv. 433; second attempt, 451-2; defeat and death, 461; hero of a national resistance, 494.
- Tacita**, her worship recommended by Numa, i. 150.
- Tacitus, C. Cornelius**, Roman historian, severe judge of Tiberius, iv. 402; accuses him of the murder of Agrippa Postumus, 406; his account of Sempronius Gracchus, 417 *note*; even reproaches Tiberius for his good sense, 421; shows Tiberius master of himself, 434; on the Emperor's selection of Piso as hostile to Germanicus, 434-5; his argument as to the supposed murder of Germanicus, 436 *note*; on the character of Tiberius, 654-5; gap of three years in his history, 473 *note*; mentions Christians with scorn, v. 6; his ability first recognized by Vespasian, 141; appointed quindecimvir and praetor by Domitian, 185, 186 *note*; his subsequent life in Domitian's reign, 185 *note*, 186 *note*; his hatred of Domitian, 202 *note*; estimate of his literary work and personal character, vi. 339-40; quoted, 352 *note*; no positive faith in immortality, 409.
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- Tactics**, Roman naval, i. 561.
- Tages**, the dwarf, Etruscan legendary personage, i. 64; lawgiver, 71; gives place to Mercury, ii. 296.
- Tallfals**, Barbaric tribe associated with the Huus, viii. 268.
- Talent of silver**, its value in francs, ii. 105 *note*.
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- Centesima rerum venalium**, a tax of one per cent levied on all goods offered for sale: introduced in the later period of the Republic, and regulated by Augustus, iv. 107-59; under the Antonines, vi. 253.
- Decumae**, tax of ten per cent (tithes) paid by those occupying the public lands: farmed out by the censors, i. 345; regulated by the Licinian Law, 401-2; payment of this tax secured by the quaestors, 496; ii. 239 *note*.
- Gleba senatoria** (or *Follis*), tax paid by the provincials, on obtaining senatorial rank: established in the later Empire, viii. 11, 14.
- Lustralis collatio** (or *Chrysargyrum*),

- a sort of license which must be obtained by persons carrying on any trade or business under the later Empire, viii. 11 *note*, 14, 15.
- Quinquagesima**, a tax of one fiftieth on the sale of slaves, iv. 101; vi. 253.
- Scriptura**, tax paid by those who kept cattle in the public pastures under the Republic, i. 401-2 and *note*; ii. 239 *note*, 241.
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- Tigranocerta**, capital of Armenia, besieged by Lucullus, iii. 132; its fall, 133.
- Tigurini**, a people of Helvetia, join the Cimbri in invading Gaul, ii. 526, 528; are defeated, 528.
- Timagenes**, rhetorician, his freedom of speech in addressing Augustus, iv. 330.
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- Tingis** (Taugier), city of Mauretania, taken by Sertorius, iii. 75; a Roman colony in the time of the Antonines, vi. 152.
- Tingitania**, western portion of Mauretania, iv. 548.
- Tinia**, the Etruscan Jupiter, i. 127.
- Tiridates**. See *Armenia, kings of*.
- Tiro, M. Tullius**, freedman and pupil of Cicero, iv. 370; vi. 13, 325.
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- Titianus Postumius**, consul, and *corrector Italiae Transpadanae*, vii. 314 *note*.
- Titenses**, or *Sodales Titii*, a college of priests representing the second tribe: Augustus enrolls himself among them, iv. 126 *note*.
- Titus** or *Titenses*, one of the three tribes of Romans, i. 189.
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- Toga**, mantle, usually of white wool, the national garment of the Romans, i. 134; iv. 113; vi. 279, 524-5.
- Togati**, Roman citizens, ii. 501 *note*.
- Toletum** (Toledo), Jewish or Phoenician colony in Spain, scene of a victory of Hannibal, i. 654; scene of a Roman victory over the native tribes, ii. 133.
- Tolistoboli**, a Galatian people, iii. 150.
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Toxandria, a district near the Schelde, given up by Julian to the Salian Franks, viii. 99.

Trachonitis, a portion of Palestine granted by Augustus to Zenodorus, iv. 209.

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Trajanus, Ulpius, father of the Emperor Trajan, lieutenant of Vespasian, v. 83; made a patrician by him, 141.

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Tralles, Greek city of Asia Minor, abandons Mithridates, ii. 687; injured by an earthquake, is rebuilt by Augustus, iv. 211; its pottery an article of commerce, 224; its electoral comitia, vi. 32.

- Transvectio equitum**, procession of the knights on the anniversary of the battle of Lake Regillus, i. 410; v. 401; vii. 557-8.
- Transylvania**, part of Dacia, v. 241.
- Trapezus** (Trebizond), city of Pontus, ii. 661; iii. 150; eastern frontier town of Asia Minor, 704; visited by Hadrian; his statue and a temple of Mercury erected there, v. 367; taken by the Goths, vi. 241.
- Travertino**, how formed, i. 41.
- Treason**, law concerning (*crimen majestatis*), of early origin, iv. 463; its employment under Julius Caesar and Augustus, 464 and *note*; defied by Ulpian as nearest to sacrilege, 465 and *note*; used by Tiberius, 465 and *note*.
- Trebellianus**, one of the "Thirty Tyrants," defeated and slain, vii. 267.
- Trebia**, battle of the, i. 667-8 and *notes*.
- Trebonian Laws**: of 447 B. C., concerning the election of tribunes, i. 342 *note*, 344; of 55 B. C., concerning the consular provinces, iii. 376.
- Trebonius, C.**, tribune, agent of the triumvirs, brings forward the *plebiscitum de provinciis consularibus*, iii. 376; legate of Caesar at Marseilles, 434-5; consul, 507 *note*; one of the conspirators against Caesar, 541; murdered by Dolabella, 576, 604.
- Trebonius, L.**, tribune (447 B. C.), i. 342 *note*.
- Trees**, consecrated, i. 216, 217.
- Treveri**, a Belgic or Celtic people, offer resistance to Caesar, iii. 314, 319, 325; are subjugated, 326, 340; incited to insurrection by Florus, 448.
- Treverorum Augusta** (Trèves). a Roman colony, its early importance, iv. 221; offers troops to Vitellius, v. 70; in insurrection against Vespasian, 102-3, 138; important Roman position, vi. 126; chief city of the Gallic provinces; imperial residence, vii. 358, 359, 362; its amphitheatre, 453; buildings erected by Constantine, 454; sacked by the Alemanni, viii. 87.
- Triads**, Gallic, iv. 174-6; vi. 585 *note*.
- Tribunals**, political importance of, ii. 474 *note*, 477 *note*.
- Tribuneship**, properly the office of chief or president of a Roman tribe, or a person representing the tribe for a special purpose. This, which was the original meaning of the word, may be traced in all later uses of it. For officers of various duties designated as tribunes, see below.
- Tribuni aerarii**, tribunes of the treasury, i. 242 *note*; iii. 107 *note*.
- Tribuni militum**, military or legionary tribunes, six to each legion, i. 511-12; their duties in the camp, 512-19; subordinated by Caesar to the legate, iii. 526 and *note*; two classes (*tribuni majores* and *tribuni minores*) established by Augustus, iv. 107; the latter dismissed by Hadrian, v. 322; semestrial tribunes and *tribuni laticlavii* under the Antonines, vi. 204 *note*; allowed four orderlies by Alexander Severus, vii. 192 *note*; the office originally elective, viii. 406-7; ceases to be so in 70 B. C., 407.
- Tribuni militum a populo**, mentioned in inscriptions, viii. 400-4; question as to their duties, 404-6; not the legionary tribune, 406-8; a municipal dignitary, 408-10; having various functions chiefly connected with the maintenance of public order, 410-18; origin of his office, 418-19.
- Tribuni militum consulari potestate**, military tribunes, with consular authority, instituted by the Senate (444 B. C.): three, four, or six in number; either patrician or plebeian; one of them the *praefectus urbis*, i. 346-7; the office abolished 367 B. C., 383.
- Tribuni plebis**, tribunes of the people, a class of inferior magistrates having the duty of protecting the plebeians from abuse on the part of the patrician magistrates, i. 285; their position and privileges, 285 and *note*, 286; chosen from the plebeians; at first two, afterwards five, later ten; finally arrive at great power, 286; how appointed, 286 *note*, 295 and *note*; by successive advantages gained over the patricians, the tribunes gradually obtained almost complete equality for the plebeians, Chapters VI., VIII., IX., XII., and XIII.; after this the tribunes are regarded as representatives of the entire people, and peace prevails, Chapter XVIII.; until the former separation re-appears in the rise of a new nobility, founded on the principle of wealth, which in the second century B. C. protects itself against tribunitian attacks by itself invading the tribuneship, Chapter XXXVI.; the excesses of this oligarchy call out a revolutionary tribuneship,—the Gracchi, Marius, and Saturninus, Chapters XXXVIII., XLI.; Sylla for the time destroys this, Chapter XLVII.; the military leaders restore it, Chapter XLIX.; and use it against

- the aristocracy, Chapter LIII.; and Augustus silences it forever by uniting its prerogatives to the imperial dignity, iv. 80-2.
- Tribunicia potestas**, signification on coins, i. 17 *note*.
- Tribunus celerum**, commander of the cavalry under the Kings, i. 195.
- Tribunus voluptatum**, an officer of the later Empire, viii. 18.
- Tribus** (tribes), chief division of the citizens of Rome: three recognized by Romulus, — the Ramnes, or Rammenses, the Tities, or Titienses, and the Luceres, or Lucercenses, respectively of Latin, Sabine, and Etruscan origin, and exclusively patrician, i. 189; thirty instituted by Servius, on the principle of locality, probably exclusively plebeian, of which four (*urbanae*) were residents of Rome, and twenty-six (*rusticae*) of its adjacent territory, 241; this number reduced to twenty by the conquests of Porsenna, 301 *note*; increased to twenty-one, 301 *note*, 481 and *note*; further increased, 481 *note*; new tribes created for the Italians, but the number again reduced by Sylla, ii. 607 and *note*.
- Trimalchio**, a character of the *Satyricon*, vi. 274, 304-6, 351.
- Triquetra**, the Sicilian emblem, i. 110 *note*; 553 *note*.
- Triremes**, i. 560.
- Trium Liberorum, jus**, advantages given by the Papian-Poppaean Law to the parents of three or more children, iv. 111 *note*; 137, 138 and *note*; vestals and soldiers have the same advantages granted them, 138; also some of the gods, 167.
- Triumphs**, three times celebrated by Spurius Cassius, i. 288; nine, in which Dentatus had walked, 325; of Poetilius, 374; of Papirius, 439; of Fabius, 451; of Curius, 454; of Curius Dentatus, 472; obtained twenty-four times by consuls in the Samnite War, 473; of Aemilius, 598; of Marcellus, 601, 602; dancing figures, and masks at, 618, 619; of Paulus Aemilius, ii. 181-4; great display of treasures at, 279; one hundred and eighty-one in two hundred and eighty-three years, 280; condition for obtaining, 377 *note*; celebrated by Sylla, iii. 33; of Pompey, 197-8; of Caesar, four, at intervals of several days, 507-10; number celebrated at Rome, vii. 313 *note*.
- Triumvirates**: the first, a coalition between Caesar, Pompey, and Crassus for the purpose of ruling Rome, having no legal authority; its formation, iii. 201-4; reconstruction at Lucca, 372; the second, a division of power between Octavius, Antony, and Lepidus, conferred upon them for five years, in 43 B.C., by a plebiscitum, iii. 585; renewed in 37 B.C. for five years, and broken up by hostilities between Lepidus and the two others, 637-8.
- Triumviri** (the Three Men) **agro dividundo**, officers appointed to carry out the Agrarian Law of Tiberius Gracchus, ii. 455.
- Triumviri capitales**, magistrates elected by the people, whose duty it was to inquire into capital crimes, arrest criminals, preserve public order, enforce the payment of fines, and execute the sentence of the law upon offenders, i. 395; iii. 184, 507; iv. 106 *note*.
- Triumviri monetales**, superintendents of the mint, iv. 106 *note*; vi. 219; their office abolished in the third century, vii. 321 *note*.
- Triumviri reipublicae constituendae**, the title under which Octavius, Antony, and Lepidus assumed the supreme power, iii. 584. See also **Triumvirates**.
- Triumviri viarum curandarum**, having charge of the public roads, vi. 219.
- Triumvirs**, either ordinary magistrates or extraordinary commissioners appointed to execute any public service. See **Triumviri**.
- Trojogenae**, the, fifty Roman families claiming to be of Trojan race, i. 185.
- Tryphonius, Claudius**, eminent jurist, vi. 545 *note*; member of the imperial council, 551 *note*.
- Tuberos**, eminent family, ii. 424-5, 429 and *note*.
- Tubertus, A. Postumius**, dictator, i. 354.
- Tubicines**, Roman jesters, i. 619 *note*.
- Tubulus, L. Hostilius**, praetor, sells his vote, ii. 476 *note*.
- Tuccia**, the vestal, story of, i. 229.
- Tuder**, important Umbrian city, i. 57 *note*.
- Tuditanus, C. Sempronius** (1st), praetor, killed in Spain, ii. 131.
- Tuditanus, C. Sempronius** (2d), unable to carry out the Agrarian Law of Tiberius Gracchus, ii. 466.
- Tullia**, daughter of Servius, wife of Aruns, and afterwards of Tarquin the Proud, i. 165-6.
- Tullianum**, i. 598; ii. 516 *note*; section of, iii. 185 and *note*.

- Tumuli**, i. 85; remarkable ones in Algeria, iii. 498.
- Tumultus**, declared by the Senate, i. 596; in 193 B. C., ii. 135; meaning of the word, iii. 574 *note*.
- Tunis** (Tunes), African town near Carthage, i. 524; held by Scipio in the Second Punic War, ii. 265; its population, iii. 726; ruins of a bridge of Trajan's time, v. 274.
- Turbo**, **Marcus Livianus**, crushes a Jewish insurrection at Cyrene, v. 331; prefect; his industry and ability, 402.
- Turdetani** and **Turduli**, two Spanish tribes nearly connected with each other: their early literature, iii. 679; their commerce with Rome, iv. 216; their copper mines, 222 *note*.
- Turmae**, i. 515.
- Turnus**, king of the Rutuli, i. 140.
- Turpilianus**, **C. Petronius**, honors paid him by Nero, v. 25.
- Turrianus**, Etruscan sculptor, i. 237.
- Turullius**, one of Caesar's assassins, iii. 541; given up to Octavius by Antony, 669.
- Tusculum**, city of Latium, Etruscan colony, i. 68; its legends of Greek origin, 107; its dictator, 120, 166; ally of Rome, 302, 372; its inhabitants obtain citizenship, and its dictator becomes a Roman consul, 431; on a branch of the *Via Latina*, 495 *note*; colossal statue found there, ii. 671 *note*; site of villas of Lucullus, iii. 138; site of Cicero's villa, 364; favorite place for villas, iv. 353.
- Tutanus**, protecting divinity, united with Faunus on a Hermes, ii. 36 *note*; iv. 176 *note*.
- Tutela**, legend of, i. 372, 373.
- Tutor**, **Julius**, a Trevir, seeks to found a Gallic empire, v. 101.
- Twelve Tables**, the, a monument of old Italian customs, i. 131; made little change in old rights, 331; their laws as to the family, 332; as to the *gens*, 332, 333; as to property, 333, 334; as to person, 334; concerning funerals, 334-6; favorable to the poor, 336-8; prohibit intermarriage between patricians and plebeians, 338; are the foundation of the civil law of Rome, 340; on debt, enforced (356 B. C.), 403; decreed death against author of libels, iv. 463.
- Tyana**, city of Cappadocia: gift of Pliny to it, vi. 93; taken by Aurelian, vii. 301; visit of Jovian, viii. 227.
- Tyre**, most important city of Phoenicia, i. 527; its importance destroyed by the Greeks, 533; free and populous, iii. 716; its purple dye, 717, iv. 225; a Roman colony with the *jus Italicum*, vi. 487; its council, vii. 553-5.
- Tyrrhenians**, originally Lydians, i. 49; legend of their establishment in Italy, 49; known to the Greeks, 50.
- UBII**, a German tribe oppressed by the Suevi, iii. 308; the Augustal cult established among them, iv. 171, 245, 410; a colony of veterans established among them by Claudius, 543.
- Ulfilas**, the first bishop of the Goths, vii. 538 *note*; reduces the Gothic language to writing, and translates the Scriptures into it, viii. 261 *note*; negotiates with Valens for the reception of the Goths into the Empire, 265.
- Ulpian** (Domitius Ulpianus), Roman jurist, perhaps an Epicurean iv. 344; of Syrian birth, vi. 344, 550; on jurisconsults, 374; member of the imperial council, 545, 551; his relations with Paulus, 551 *note*; concerning enfranchisements, 553 *note*; decurions, 562; praetorian prefect under Alexander Severus, vii. 121; importance of the office in his time, 122; murdered in the presence of the Emperor, 130.
- Umbrenus**, **P.**, accomplice of Catiline, iii. 179.
- Umbria**, possible derivation of the name, i. 112.
- Umbrians**, their arrival in Italy, i. 56; theories as to their origin, 56 *note*; extent and divisions of their territory, 56, 57; dwellers in open villages and also on hill-tops, 57; their chief towns, 57; their power reduced, 58; subject to Etruscan influence and rule, 58; their alliance with the Etrurians, 59; divided into numerous tribes, 59, 60.
- Unelli**, a Gallic people, iii. 303.
- Urban cohorts**, city guards established by Augustus, iv. 98; vii. 393.
- Urbicaria**, **regio**, the country adjacent to Rome to a distance of a hundred miles from the city walls, vii. 394.
- Urbicus**, **Lollius**, victorious general in Britain under Antoninus Pius, v. 445.
- Urbs**, fortified enclosure distinguished from *civitās*, body of citizens, ii. 249.
- Ursicinus**, Roman general, condemned to death, but respited, viii. 79; sent into Gaul, to take the place of Sylvanus, 81.

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Usipetes, German people, invade Gaul, iii. 307-8; are attacked and defeated by Caesar, 309; again cross the Rhine, iv. 244; their early invasion, vi. 280.

Usucapio, acquisition of property by use or possession, ii. 243 *note*, 577-8.

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Utica, city on the northern coast of Africa, a Phoenician colony, i. 535; besieged by the mercenaries and relieved by Amilcar, 507; blockaded in the Second Punic War, ii. 64; surrenders to the Romans in the Third Punic War, 201-2; an allied city, 243 *note*; the poet Naevius in exile there, 399; Italian traders established there, 508; iii. 30, 498 and *note*; iv. 215; scene of Cato's death, iii. 501-3.

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VACCAEI, a people of Spain, defeated by Hannibal, i. 654; their insurrection against the Romans, ii. 131, 133; finally suppressed, 133; unjustly attacked by Lucullus, 211, 379.

Vadimon Lake, battle of, i. 441.

Vadomar, Aleman king, agrees to betray Julian, viii. 128 *note*.

Valens, proconsul of Achaia, one of the "Thirty Tyrants," assumes the purple, vii. 261; his death, 262.

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Valentia, perhaps the secret name of Rome and of her tutelary divinity, i. 137 *note*, 142 *note*.

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- Valentinian II**, the Emperor, son of Valentinian I. and Justina, made Augustus by the generals on his father's death, viii. 251; accepted fraternally by Gratian, 252; resides for many years at Sirmium, 276 *note*; is brought to Milan; receives overtures from Maximus, who promises to leave him undisturbed in Italy, 292; remains for some time in peace, 302; is besought to favor the pagans, 303-4; is threatened by Saint Ambrose with excommunication, 305; resents the bishop's interference on the subject of the Arians, 306; is threatened by Maximus, and escapes to the court of Theodosius, 308; is restored to his domains, and receives in addition the Gallic provinces, 312; accompanies Theodosius to Rome; returns to Milan; is advised by Theodosius to go to Trèves, 322; his quarrel with Arbogastes, 323-4; and death, 324; question whether by murder or suicide, 324 *note*.
- Valentinians**, heretics of the third century, vii. 37.
- Valeria**, second wife of Sylla, iii. 46.
- Valeria**, Roman province in Pannonia, formed by Galerius, vii. 365 *note*; named for his wife, 385 *note*.
- Valeria Galeria**, daughter of Diocletian, married to Galerius, vii. 366; province named in her honor, 385 *note*; suspected of being a Christian, is obliged to sacrifice to the gods, 419; is put to death by Licinius, 463.
- Valerian**, the Emperor (P. Licinius Valerianus), defrays the expenses of Aurelian's games, vi. 217 *note*; rescript against the Christians, vii. 60 *note*; his letter concerning supplies to be furnished Claudius, 190 and *note*; perhaps the victim of a military sedition, 198; his order in relation to Aurelian, 205; is appointed censor by Decius, and sets on foot a persecution of the Christians, 225-6; represented by Zonaras as the colleague of Decius, 226 *note*; proclaimed by the legions of Gaul and Germany, 234; character and talents, 235; age and earlier honors, 235 *note*; divides the Empire with his son, 235-6; his council of war at Byzantium, 243; pays special honors to Aurelian, 243 and *note*; occupies Cappadocia, 244; enters Antioch; goes to negotiate with Sapor, and is made prisoner, 245; his captivity and death; legends on this subject, 245-6 and *notes*; is apotheosized by his son, 247; his extremely cruel persecution of the Christians, 247-52; vain endeavors of Odenathus in his behalf, 252-4.
- Valerian Law** *de provocatione* (509 B. C.), establishing the right of appeal to the people, *i. e.*, that a man shall be tried by his peers, i. 278; sanctioned by the Twelve Tables, 337; again in 302 B. C., 394; and again in 198 B. C., ii. 342.
- Valerian Law**, reducing all debts to one fourth, iii. 38.
- Valerian, Horatian-, Laws**, protecting popular liberty, i. 341-2.
- Valerianus**, son of the Emperor Valerian, his character and death, vii. 271 and *note*.
- Valerius**, Roman commissioner in Greece, ii. 153-4.
- Valerius Asiaticus, P.**, harangues the mob after Caligula's death, applauding the murder, iv. 515; aspires to the Empire, 518; falsely accused; his heroic death, 552; his gardens desired by Messalina, 553.
- Valerius Corvus, M.** See **Corvus**.
- Valerius Flaccus, L.** (1st), serves in the Roman army in Greece, ii. 117.
- Valerius Flaccus, L.** (2d). *interrex*, partisan of Sylla, iii. 32.
- Valerius Maximus, M. Volusus**, dictator, defeats the Aequi and Volsci, i. 233-4; sent as deputy by the Senate to the plebeians on the Sacred Mount, 285.
- Valerius Potitus, L.**, consul with Horatius, i. 341; author of the Horatian-Valerian Laws (449 B. C.), 341-2; his victories over the Sabines, 342.
- Vallum Hadriani**, Hadrian's wall in Britain, v. 334-40.
- Vandals**, a German race, neighbors of the Marcomanni, vi. 444; vii. 87; they migrate westward, 182; give their children as hostages, 196; expelled from Moesia by Probus, 335; established in Britain, 337; driven westward by the Lombards, they threaten Gaul, viii. 279-80.
- Varian Law**, the, ii. 568 and *note*.
- Varinius, Publius**, Roman general in the Servile War, iii. 94.
- Varius, M.**, officer of Sertorius, sent to negotiate with Mithridates, iii. 87; captured and put to death, 127.
- Varius Hybrida, Q.**, proposes a law; accuses Aemilius Scaurus, ii. 568-9.
- Varro Atacinus, P. Terentius**, Latin poet,

- native of Narbo, iii. 682; a sceptic, vi. 381 and *note*.
- Varro, C. Terentius**, consul, i. 683; kindly received at Rome after Cannae, ii. 4; his after life, 4 *note*.
- Varro, M. Terentius**, his sentiments on theology, ii. 292; his *instrumentum vocale*, 358; employed by Caesar to collect a library, iii. 534; proscribed by the First Triumvirate, is saved by his friends, 588; author of *Precepts of Agriculture*, iv. 124; a partisan of Pompey; undue honor paid him, 322; character of his theology, 323-4; his *Divine Antiquities*, 324; his philosophy, 324-5; his works long text-books, 325; a believer in astrology, 332; on fish-ponds, vi. 271; on parks, 288.
- Varus, P. Atius**, Pompeian general, in Africa, iii. 437, 495; takes refuge with Sextus Pompeius in Spain, 497, 516; killed at Munda, 518.
- Varus, P. Quintilius** (1st), his reported exactions as governor of Syria, iv. 153 *note*; sent to organize Gaul as a province, 266; his rashness and severity, 267-9; is defeated in a battle with great loss, and falls upon his sword, 269-71; his head sent to Augustus, 271; secue of his disaster reached by Germanicus, 412; tomb erected to him destroyed; one of his eagles recovered, 415; a few of his soldiers delivered from captivity after forty years, 543.
- Varus, P. Quintilius** (2d), accused in the reign of Tiberius; the Senate refuses to act, iv. 473.
- Varus, Sextus Quintilius**, his death after the battle of Philippi, iii. 611.
- Vasarium**, money furnished by the Senate to governors of provinces for their expenses, ii. 231 *note*, 642 and *note*.
- Vatia, P. Servilius** (Isauricus), insolence of, ii. 376; sent against the pirates, iii. 113; destroys great numbers, 114; obtains a triumph and the surname Isauricus, 115.
- Vatia, P. Servilius** (Isauricus), the younger, consul (47 B. C.), iii. 443; suppressed the revolt of Caelius, 482; unfriendly to Caesar, 537.
- Vaticanus** (Vatican), a hill on the northwest of the Tiber: gardens of Tiberius, iv. 482; obelisk placed by Caligula in a circus, 512.
- Vatinian plebiscitum**, giving Caesar two provinces for five years, iii. 212, 410-11.
- Vatinus, P.**, consul, his plebiscitum bestowing on Caesar the Gallic provinces for five years, iii. 212-13; Caesar's lieutenant in Illyria, 485; surrenders to Brutus at Dyrrachium, 603.
- Vegetius, Flavius Renatus**, author of a treatise on the art of war; his statement as to winter navigation of the Mediterranean, iii. 470 *note*; on the numerical strength of the legions, iv. 98 *note*; on report made to the governor concerning his province, 158; on the bad quality of soldiers, 389 *note*; viii. 48 *note*; on cohorts, vii. 477 *note*.
- Vehiculatio**, service of the imperial post, vi. 571 *note*. See also *Post*.
- Velento, Fabricius**, banished for libel under Nero, iv. 599.
- Veii**, an ancient Tuscan city of Etruria, twelve miles from Rome: at war with Rome, i. 146, 155, 156, 164, 277; situation and strength of the city, 305 and *note*; nine years' war; forty years' truce with, 315; revolt, followed by truce of twenty years, 353; ten years' siege of the city, 356-7; it is taken by draining the Alban Lake, 357-8; destroyed, and its territory divided among the Romans, 358-9; its walls finally used in rebuilding Rome, 369; on the *Via Cassia*, 495 *note*; colonized by Augustus, becomes an important city, iv. 143.
- Vejovis**, an Etruscan divinity, the baleful Sun, i. 127-8.
- Velaria**, awnings extended over the audience in theatres and amphi theatres, iii. 68; silken, in Caesar's time, 510; in Pompeii, vi. 296 *note*.
- Velia**, one of the summits of the Palatine hill, overlooking the Forum, i. 177; temple of the Penates built there by Augustus, iv. 298.
- Velites**, i. 513.
- Velitrae**, city of Latium, home of the Octavii, i. 133; a Roman colony, 288 *note*; its revolt, 371; in league with the Gauls, 475; severely dealt with by Rome, 422-3; again colonized, serves as an outpost for Rome, 491.
- Velleda**, a German priestess, devoted to the cause of Civilis, v. 102; gives offence to the Batavi, 105; brought captive to Rome, 491.
- Velleia**, or **Veleia**, a town in northern Italy, its inscription, v. 265-7; destroyed by a landslip, 266; its *latifundia*, vi. 289.
- Velleianum**, senatus-consultum in relation to women, iv. 526 and *note*.

- Venafrum**, a Campanian city, besieged and taken in the Social War, ii. 588; its fertile territory, iii. 170; its oil, iv. 33, 217 *note*; president of its curia, vi. 61 *note*.
- Venatio**, first given in Rome, ii. 282 *note*.
- Veneti**, a people, supposed to be of Gallic origin, occupying the eastern part of northern Italy, industrious, commercial, and wealthy, i. 55; by some authorities considered to be of Slavic origin, 55 *note*; unfriendly to the neighboring tribes, 594; silently accept the rule of Rome, ii. 136; Caesar's campaign against them, iii. 301-3; their destruction, 303.
- Veneti**, a people on the Gallic coast: their navy, iii. 276, 302; attacked and destroyed by Caesar, 301-3.
- Ventidius Bassus, P.**, brings reinforcements to Antony in Gaul, iii. 580; takes the place of Octavius as consul, 582; his prudent conduct, 620; his name on a sling-missile, 620 *note*; sent by Antony against the Parthians, 624; his great successes; his triumph at Rome, 642.
- Venus**, goddess of love and beauty, unknown at Rome in the time of the Kings, i. 126 *note*; Aeneas her son, according to tradition, 140; iii. 509; invoked by Lucretius, ii. 323.
- Venus Erycina**, worshipped on Mount Eryx in Sicily: identified by the Phoenicians with Astarte, i. 526 *note*; a temple erected to her at Rome; identified with the Celestial Virgin of Carthage, 641; received at Rome, ii. 295; her temple at Eryx frequented by pilgrims, 640; Claudius proposes to rebuild it, 536.
- Venus Genitrix**, honored by Caesar as his ancestress, iii. 509; he receives the Senate in her temple, 524-5; a temple in her honor built by him, 526; iv. 345.
- Venus Verticordia**, temple erected to her by the Senate, ii. 277.
- Venus of Cos**, statue, restored by order of Vespasian, v. 149.
- Venus of Milo**, statue, its probable date, iii. 700 *note*; probably buried in the reign of Theodosius, viii. 295 and *note*.
- Venusia**, a city of southern Italy, colonized by Rome, i. 454; first colony east of the Apennines, 457; numerous and important, 465, 490; its coins, 493; on a branch of the *Via Appia*, 495 *note*; faithful to Rome in the Second Punic War, 649 *note*; ii. 5 *note*, 41; occupied by a Roman army, 45; its territory promised by the triumvirs to their soldiers, iii. 584; birthplace of Horace, 622; its tribunes, vi. 26 *note*.
- Veranius, Q.**, unsuccessful in Britain, iv. 611.
- Vercellae**, a city of Cisalpine Gaul, gold mine in its neighborhood, ii. 41 *note*; scene of the victory of Marius over the Cimbri, 541-2, 608; iii. 177, 213.
- Vercingetorix**, Arvernian chief, instigates revolt against Caesar, iii. 327-9; in great authority, 329-30; encounters Caesar at Gergovia, 335-8; threatens the province; his plan of the campaign, 340; retreat to Alesia, 341; defends the city, 341-8; his defeat, 349; and surrender, 350; in Caesar's triumph; put to death in the Tullianum, 507.
- Vergasivellaunus**, chief of the Arverni, iii. 347 *note*.
- Vergil (Publius Vergilius Maro)**, his praise of Lucretius, ii. 327; loses and recovers his estates near Mantua, iii. 622; guest of Maecenas, iv. 56; furthers the designs of Augustus, 57, 310; celebrates agriculture, 124; his testimony to the prosperity of Rome under Augustus, 230; prophesies future victories of Augustus, 236; his death, 244, 274; his personal character, 310-12, 317 *note*; popularity, 310 *note*, 321; patriotic poet, 312-13; review of his works, 313-15; prophetic outlook, 315-17; his death, 319 *note*; honors paid him by Augustus, 331; pantheistic tendency of, vi. 384; his ideas regarding future punishment, 415.
- Verginius Rufus**. See **Rufus**.
- Vergobret**, Gallic judge, appointed annually, iii. 270.
- Vermina**, son of Syphax, aids his father in defeating Masinissa, ii. 63; promises aid to Hannibal, 66; is defeated by Scipio, 66 *note*, 67.
- Verona**, city of northern Italy, birthplace of Catullus, i. 133; on the *Via Postumia*, 495 *note*; city of the Cenomani, ii. 136; its amphitheatre, vi. 139, 147 and *note*; scene of a victory over the Goths, vii. 223; its walls rebuilt by Gallienus, 271; the city called from his name, 271 *note*; besieged and taken by Constantine, 457.
- Verres, C. Licinius**, lieutenant with Dolabella, ii. 637 and *note*; his extortions in Greece and Asia, 638-9; in Sicily, 639-44; quaestor

- in Carbo's army, escapes with the treasure, iii. 13; victim of the proscriptions of the first triumvirate, 588.
- Vertumnus**, god of orchards, i. 204.
- Verulamium** (St. Albans), British city, iv. 612; taken, and its inhabitants massacred by the Romans, 613.
- Verus, Lucius Aurelius**, the Emperor (L. Ceionius Commodus), colleague of Marcus Aurelius: his dissolute character, v. 459; other opinions of him more favorable, 459-60 and *note*; sent to the East, 461; celebrates a triumph, 463; expedition into Germany, 475; his death, 477 and *note*; his suspicious in regard to Cassius, 479-80; husband of Annia Lucilla, daughter of Marcus Aurelius, 489 *note*; gladiatorial combats approved of by him, vi. 301.
- Verus, L. Ceionius Commodus**, adopted by Hadrian, v. 418; date of the adoption, 418 *note*; his death, 423 and *note*.
- Vesontio**, Gallic stronghold occupied by Caesar, iii. 287; battle of, v. 44.
- Vespasian**, the Emperor (T. Flavius Sabinus Vespasianus), narrow escape in the reign of Nero, iv. 618; sends Jewish prisoners to the Isthmus of Corinth, v. 39; takes the oath of fidelity to Galba, 60; his ancestry and early career, 82-3; his valor and popularity, 83-4; reconciliation with Mucianus, 84; his future greatness predicted by Josephus, 84-5, 123, 124; is proclaimed Emperor, 85, 126; had been intrusted by Nero with the command in the Jewish war, 122; his subjugation of Galilee, 123; carries on the war moderately, 126; severity towards the Jews after the conquest of Jerusalem; subjects them to a special tax, 132; is accepted as Emperor by all parties, 134; his interest in Apollonius of Tyana; is believed to work miracles, 135; his sojourn in Egypt, 135-6; returns to Italy by way of Asia Minor; is welcomed by the Senate at Brundisium, 136; great services done him by Mucianus, 137-8; Saint Augustine's praise of him; simple and estimable character, 139 and *notes*, 140; restorative character of his reign, 140; reinforces the Senate, 140-1, and *notes*; vi. 195, 265; submits all important matters to it, v. 142; testimony of Suetonius and others to his love of justice, 142 and *note*; restores discipline to the legions; seeks to improve public morals and rekindle expiring piety, 143-4; his measures for the city and the provinces, 144-6; begins the Colosseum, 145; unjustly accused of avarice by Suetonius; excellent character of his appointments, 146; anecdotes concerning his frugality, 147; expeditious during his reign, 148; measures for improving the finances, 148-9; liberality to artists and scholars, 150-1; vi. 103, 342; clamors of the philosophers against him, v. 152-3; conspiracies, 154; founds many colonies, deals wisely with the allies and subject-nations, 154-8; gives Spain the *jus Latii*; last scenes of his life, 158-9; estimate of "the first plebeian Emperor," 159; establishes a colony of Jews at Merida, vi. 131; his measures in respect to Greece, 141; number of his legions, 229; poverty of the government at the time of his accession, 266.
- Vesta**, the goddess of fire, the Agni of the Vedas, i. 53, 123 and *note*, 199; the immaculate virgin, 123, 209, 222; propitiated at Rome in the Second Punic War, ii. 2; her temple in the Forum, 611; greatly honored at Rome, iv. 130; her temple at Lanuvium, v. 274; patroness of millers and bakers, vi. 101; still worshipped at Rome in the fourth century A. D., viii. 297.
- Vestals**, virgin priestesses of Vesta: their office instituted at Rome by Numa, i. 147; guardians of the sacred fire and of the palladium, 148; have charge of the worship of Fascinus, 218; their number and method of their selection, 226; their duties, 226-7; honors, 228; penalty of violated vows, 228-9; moral idea of this priesthood, 229; instances of their punishment, 424; ii. 2, 417; v. 181-2; vii. 81; viii. 297; present at funerals, iii. 349; are guardians of treaties, 627; and wills, 658; possess the *jus trium liberorum*, iv. 138.
- Vestini**, a people of central Italy, of Sabine stock, their revolt against the Romans and defeat, i. 429; become allies of Rome, 444; take part in the Social War, ii. 582.
- Vestinus**, consul, his heroic death, v. 22.
- Vesuvius, Mount**, its early eruptions, i. 26; battle of, 419, 420; eruption in 79 A. D., v. 167-9.
- Vetera Castra** (Xanten), a military position between the Meuse and the Rhine, in the time of Augustus, iv. 255, 412; v. 100.
- Veteran standing**, established by Augustus, iv. 388 and *note*; under the Antonines, vi. 242 and *note*, 243; under Septimius Severus,

- 564 and *note*; under Probus, vii. 336; under Constantine, viii. 43 and *note*.
- Vetranio**, Roman general, instigated by Constantina to assume the diadem; makes an alliance with Magnentius, viii. 69; which is broken up by Constantius, and the usurper makes his submission and is pardoned, 70.
- Vettius**, a Roman knight, incites a revolt of slaves, ii. 545.
- Vettius, L.**, spy employed by Cicero, denounces Caesar, iii. 192; his death, 207 *note*.
- Vetus, L. Antistius**, general in Germany under Nero, his canal, iv. 542; put to death by Nero, v. 27.
- Vexillatio**, a corps of troops under one vexillum, or standard, v. 461.
- Via Aemilia**, the road between Ariminum and Placentia, built by M. Aemilius Lepidus, consul in 187 B. C., i. 495 *note*; 603 *note*; ii. 137.
- Via Appia**, most important and celebrated of all the Roman high-roads, leading from Rome to Brundisium, begun by the censor Ap-pius Claudius Cæcus, 312 B. C.; paved with blocks of lava, i. 40; paid for with money accruing to the state as fines, 402 *note*; "the queen of roads," 407; having several branches, 495 *note*; bordered with tombs in the neighborhood of Rome, 626-7; closely follows the coast for some distance, ii. 591 *note*; its repairs superintended by Caesar, iii. 157 *note*; its width, iv. 161 *note*; ruins of the Quintillian palace, vi. 455.
- Via Aurelia**, the road from Rome to Pisa, and thence along the coast to the Maritime Alps, built in part by Aemilius Scaurus in 109 B. C., i. 495 *note*; ii. 136.
- Via Cassia**, the road from Rome through Etruria to Arretium, and thence to Luca; the date of its construction and origin of its name are unknown, i. 495 *note*.
- Via Flaminia**, the great northern road leading from Rome to Ariminum, built by C. Flaminius, censor, in 220 B. C., i. 495 *note*, 603; bordered with tombs in the neighborhood of Rome, 626.
- Via Latina**, one of the principal and most ancient of the roads leading from Rome; probably long a common road before it was converted into a military highway: it led from Rome to Brundisium, i. 495 *note*.
- Via Salaria**, one of the most ancient and frequented of the Roman high-roads, crossing the Apennines into Picenum, and continuing to the Adriatic; its name is said to be derived from the use of this route in early times by the Sabines to carry into their own country the salt obtained at Ostia: the Gauls encamp on it (367 B. C.), i. 374; cities on the road, 495; held by Caesar, iii. 428.
- Via Tiburtina**, road from Rome to Tibur, a distance of twenty miles, i. 495 *note*.
- Via Valeria**, early road from Tibur into the land of the Marsi, and later continued to the coast of the Adriatic, i. 495 *note*; its width, iv. 161 *note*.
- Vibenna, Cæles**, early comrade of Servius Tullius, i. 239-40.
- Vibia, Aurelia Sabina**, daughter of Marcus Aurelius, vi. 497 *note*.
- Vibidia**, chief vestal, seeks to defend Messalina, iv. 557; unsuccessful in the attempt, 558.
- Vicennalia**, twentieth anniversary of Diocletian's reign, vii. 433.
- Vicesima manumissionum**. See **Taxes**.
- Vici**, subdivisions of the city, i. 496, 497.
- Vicomagistri**, superintendents of the *vici*, iv. 96.
- Victor**, a Sarmatian, master of the cavalry under Valens, viii. 270.
- Victor, Pope**, dispute concerning Easter, vii. 30; did not wish the recall of Calixtus, 42; question as to his martyrdom, 71 and *note*.
- Victor, Flavius**, son of Maximus, associated with his father in the Empire, viii. 292; put to death by Arbogastes, 312.
- Victorina**, mother of Victorinus, called "piissima," vi. 582 *note*; her great courage, vii. 265; "mother of the camps" and Augusta; induces the soldiers to acknowledge Tetricus, 266; her death, 311 and *note*.
- Victorinus, M. Plavvontius**, Gallic Caesar, adopted by Postumus, vii. 258 *note*; probable instigator of the murder of Laelianus, 264; remains Gallic Emperor; his assassination, 265.
- Victory**, personified by the Romans, the Greek Nikê: etymology of the word, i. 257; her statue at Rome, 419; a statue of her offered by Hiero, 679; her statue placed by the bier of Augustus, iv. 286; always placed by the Emperor's bed, v. 456; banished from the senate-house by decree of Gratian, viii. 303; restored by Eugenius, 326.

- Vienne** (Vienna), city of the Allobroges: hostile to Lugdunum, ii. 250; iv. 196-7; its commerce, 220; its wine, 222; place of Herod's exile, 238; visited by Julian, viii. 91.
- Vigilum, Cohortes**, a body of night-watch, organized by Augustus, having as their chief duty the preservation from fires, iv. 95, 125 and *note*; vi. 213.
- Vigintivirate**, a college of minor magistrates: holding one of these offices the first step in a public career, iv. 51; vi. 204, and *note* 220.
- Villian Law** (or *Lex Annalis*), ii. 341, 413 and *note*.
- Villius**, consul in command in Macedon, ii. 98.
- Viminal**, one of the Seven Hills, part of the Servian city, i. 162.
- Vincent, Saint**, Spanish martyr, his *Acts*, vii. 427.
- Vindelici**, predatory bands of the Rhaetian Alps, iii. 685; subjugated by Tiberius, iv. 246, 252; towns established among them, vi. 24; their chief city, 133.
- Vindex, C. Julius**, proprætor in Gaul, an Aquitanian, iv. 604; at the head of a national movement against Nero, v. 44-7; unsuccessful, he puts an end to his life, 47.
- Vindobona** (Vienna), death of Marcus Aurelius at, v. 487; station of the Roman fleet, vi. 134.
- Vindonissa** (Windisch), on the borders of Helvetia, Roman military post, iv. 254; v. 102; scene of a victory gained by Constantius Chlorus, vii. 319.
- Vinicianus, Annius**, conspires against Claudius, iv. 550-1; takes his own life, 551.
- Vinicius, M.**, husband of Julia Livilla, put to death by command of Messalina, iv. 553.
- Vinius, Titus**, said to have stolen a gold cup from the dinner-table of Claudius, iv. 525 *note*; proconsul in Gaul, praised by Tacitus, 549 *note*; Galba's lieutenant in Spain; his influence; protects Tigellinus, his father-in-law, v. 59; his death, 65.
- Vipsania**, daughter of Agrippa and Pomponia, wife of Tiberius, whom he was obliged to divorce, iv. 276; always regretted by Tiberius, 403; married to Asinius Gallus, 408.
- Virginia**, story of, i. 329, 331.
- Virginus, A.**, tribune, accuses Caeso, i. 420.
- Virginus, L.**, father of Virginia, i. 329-30; accuses the decemvirs, 342.
- Virgo caelestis**. See *Celestial Virgin*.
- Viriathus**, popular leader in Spain, ii. 211-12; assassinated, 212.
- Viridovix**, king of the Unelli, iii. 303-4.
- Viriaplaca**, surname of Juno, v. 546.
- Viscellinus, Spurius Cassius**, a successful general, i. 288, 291; proposes an Agrarian Law, 290; is put to death, 291.
- Visigoths**. See *Goths*.
- Vitela**, ancient name of Italy, i. 45.
- Vitellia**, Sabine divinity, claimed as an ancestress by Vitellius, v. 67.
- Vitellius, P.**, accused of complicity with Sejanus, iv. 480; his suicide, 481.
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